

Our Vanishing Civil Liberties

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trine with doctrine. That bankruptcy was reflected, for instance, in the WJZ-ABC "documentary," "Communism—U.S. Brand," which resorted to distortions of Lenin to make its "force and violence" point. I will not stand by silent while the right of Americans to think for themselves goes before a court and a jury which are under the greatest campaign of social pressure in our history.

The Supreme Court recently handed down a famous decision in a case known as West Virginia State Board of Education v. Bartoletti. In his majority opinion, Mr. Justice Jackson wrote:

"Those who begin coercive elimination of dissent soon find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard."

"But freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order."

"There is one fixed star in our constitutional constellation. It is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodoxy in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to梵写 by word or act their faith therein. If there are any circumstances which permit an exception, they do not now occur to us."

Mr. Justice Jackson put civil liberties in their true light when he reminded us that freedom essentially means the right to differ about things which touch "the heart of the existing order." Unless the freedom to differ includes the freedom to propagate the idea of socialism in opposition to capitalism, then that freedom is an empty term today.

The great tragic truth is that people will accept or reject Marxism-Leninism with no reference whatsoever to the legal pronouncements of a court. This is the history of ideas.

I remember another trial of a doctrine which took place in the United States. When the state of Tennessee outlawed the teaching of Darwinism in the schools, an evolutionist named Scoper made a last stand of this law. Evolution went on trial before a jury of good men and true, and Tennessee made an international fool of itself in the process.

The jury solemnly pronounced the sentence of "Guilty" on the theory of evolution.

Despite the court decision, the damnable thing happened: Evolution kept right on operating—even in Tennessee!

TOMORROW: Even the lawyers are in danger.

During I think the battle of the movement against those Communists, I was in contact with many Communists but never a fellow, I think, I do not believe that once no official about "Russia" he therefore has carte blanche to smear the Communists. I do not believe that the charge "Communist" is a sanctuary in which any (political) loudmouth who comes along can find protection. And I am frankly bewildered by the shoddy spectacle of the American press, brought up to question my statement in our most scandalous newspapers who now receipts as gospel anything which a journal publishes—provided it purports to stand "Anti-Communist." This type of thinking sets a precedent. The German libertarians set that precedent, the famous German liberal who suffered political laryngitis the day that Hitler took power.

The case of the Twelve revolves around two Grand Jury indictments returned on July 30, 1948. The first of these is a group indictment, naming as defendants William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John B. Williamson, Jacob Stachel, Robert O. Thompson, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Henry Winslow, John Dulce, Irving Ponash, Gilbert Green, Carl Winter, and Gus Hall. Foster (whose trial was postponed) is the chairman and Dennis the general secretary, of the Communist Party. Robert O. Thompson is a holder of the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry in action. Benjamin J. Davis Jr. is a Negro and a member of the New York City Council to help the people of Manhattan

better and more effectively in the work. He is president of the organization of secret Grand Jury men. The leader obviously has the influence of the Department of Justice.

The press and radio put pressure on the Grand Jury to return indictments, or suffer the social consequences. This pressure transformed the Grand Jury into a kangaroo court.

During this period I issued a statement, which the New York Times reported, in which I said:

"This has been the most porous Grand Jury investigation in Justice Department history. Leaks from the fifth floor of the Justice Department in Washington (the Attorney General's office) were calculated through their exaggeration to place the grand jurors in a position where it would be difficult for them to refuse to return indictments for espionage, treason and similar charges even though they believed the Government evidence insufficient."

Marquis W. Childs wrote in the New York Post of Nov. 30, 1947: "Never, months ago, in New York a Federal Grand Jury investigation was begun with a purported Communist spy ring in Washington. This long drawn-out investigation—with the leaks, rumors and speculation accompanying it—has contributed immensely to the current atmosphere of suspicion and distrust."

To create such an atmosphere was the purpose of that investigation?

Yes; with all this pressure, and after more than a year of stalling, the Grand Jury returned no indictments charging espionage, sub-

versal and sabotage against the Communists in the United States of America, society, government and members of agents who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and knowingly and willfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence."

This is the heart of the indictments which were returned under Section 16, Title 18, United States Code, commonly known as the Smith Act. The section under which these indictments were brought is flagrantly unconstitutional. Although the statute has been on the books for eight years, this is the first time the Government has ever used it against the Communist Party or any of its members.

The indictments claimed that the conspiracy consisted in the calling of a convention to 1943, to disband the Communist Political Association and organize the Communist Party, a party which is dedicated to the Marxist-Leninist principles of the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence."

The indictments in a word reiterated the obvious: that the Communist Party accepts Marxism-Leninism as a theory, and has cultivated literature and organized classes based on this theory.

Obviously the Grand Jury, the Attorney General, the Loyalty Board, the State Committee to Investigate Du-American activities, and the entire apparatus of

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OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES

Even the Lawyers Are Now in Danger

This is a supplementary chapter to O. John Rogge's book, "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties," which is being serialized unabbreviated in THE COMMUNIST. Today's article was written exclusively for this newspaper to bring the book completely up-to-date. The book is published by Gaer Associates.

By O. JOHN ROGGE

Dr. Big Witch hunts the victims do not get fair trials. Harold Christoffel did not get a fair trial. The members of the National Board of the Communist Party did not get a fair trial. None of the other victims whose cases I have described in this series got a fair trial.

One lesson against hope, but the verdict is always the same, guilty.

So it was with the "Communists." Once, I was not prepared for the action which the court took against their counsel: sentences for contempt up to six months. No one was left out. Those who in turn quickly became victims were Harry Becker, Richard Glazenstein, Abraham J. Isarmann, George W. Crockett Jr., and Louis J. M. Cole.

I say to myself that I have given so much opposition. I should no longer be surprised at what takes place, and yet I am. I have given warnings from time to time as to just what takes place, and waited on occasion whether my warnings were overstatements. Only in a few cases not only catching up with my warnings but exceeding them.

So it was in the case of counsel for the Eleven. Although I was prepared for a verdict of guilty as in the Becker, I had not expected the preposterous, vindictive, and unfair action which the court took against their counsel. On the contrary, I was shocked by it.

The next day at a meeting of May 1, I made an impassioned appeal for a writ of habeas corpus to the bar. I said to the bar in general, of course, for the Eleven. It had to be large, that they had done what the canons of ethics required: a vigorous defense of the defendants. They had had to do it under gallant circumstances before a biased and unfair "court" who was out to see to it that their clients got convicted. No one who had not represented an unorthodox client before a "court" judge had any idea of the terrible torment such counsel could suffer had so enduring horrors that pushed them towards it.

In the meantime all counsel

stood. I said, there anyone thereafter who went into court representing an unorthodox client would have to offer up his own liberty along with that of his client. Take the Christoffel case, for instance. The first trial had outraged me. The judge had been almost as biased and unfair as Medina. Just as Medina, he had been out to get my client convicted. After Christoffel had been convicted I felt that maybe I had been too much of a gentleman, that maybe I had been too submissive. Yet had I been any less submissive I, too, would have been held in contempt. Even so there was a time when I was in fear of it. And for what? For trying adequately to defend my client, as the canons of ethics require.

But there was to be a second trial of Christoffel. I noted. This the government had announced after Justice Murphy's death. The second trial was to be set for Jan 16. It would be even more unfair than the first. (Indeed, I do not see how the government can win it without perjured testimony.) If the sentencing of course of the Eleven stood, then the danger of my being held in contempt would be even greater in the second trial than it had been in the first. (And it was too great in the first to suffice.) If the sentence stood, the next time I went into court to defend Carlo I would have to offer up my own liberty along with his.

Did we have to follow all of the fascist pattern to this country? I asked. Were we going to remain silent until we were in a position of power, or were we going to stand and take action before it was too late?

After my plea to the bar, I wondered if I had gone on various occasions to the paid, about \$1000, in statements. I wondered, our law does, statements the sentencing of course of the Eleven. I told all counsel who represented Carlo with intent off the beaten ball. Then their statements?

These really proved my statements true. Counsel for Harry Barnes to his perjury trial has been sentenced for contempt of court. The sentence is for six months.

If the bar does not come to oppose such tyrants, those of us who defend unorthodox clients will be forced with this alternative: either we are our master and the Judge, like last night's client, is left to defend the unorthodox and to be held in contempt.

I am sorry to have to add that as yet there has been little in the way of united action by the bar on behalf either of counsel for the Eleven or counsel for Barnes.

After the second session the Eleven, Councilman Ben Davis retained me as his counsel in his application for bail. Although I argued for him, my argument was for the benefit of all the Eleven. The law provides for bail in any case where there is a substantial question of law to be passed on by a reviewing court. That there are a number of such questions in the case of the Eleven no honest man

argued whether the prosecutor opposed his allowance. He sat there without making any answer. The judge finally asked him for his position. He refused to say what it was until after I and other counsel for the Eleven had argued.

After presenting the law relating to the allowance of bail I began to outline five of the substantial questions involved in the constitutionality of Section 10 of the Smith Act, under which the indictment was brought, and the judge's application of it in the case of the Eleven. Judge Medina, believe it or not, signed ignorance of Section 10!

I told him that I was referring to the section under which the indictment was brought. He continued with his chattering. In mock seriousness he reached for a gavel on his bench and told me there was no Section 10.

Not the statutory provisions to which I was referring have been known as Section 10 ever since they got into the United States Code in 1940. The judge knew this. He had heard about Section 10 in court for most of a year. What the judge did, and I am sure he did it deliberately, was to use a volume which contained the section numbers assigned to the Smith Act when it was going through Congress. The only inference I can draw from his conduct is that he was trying to throw me off my stride. Here is part of the colloquy between court and counsel:

THE COURT: Section 10?
MR. ROGGE: Yes, of the Smith Act—which is the one under which this indictment is brought, if my understanding is correct.
THE COURT: I know the Act before me.

MR. ROGGE: Well, it is my opinion—
THE COURT: There is no Section 10. Sections 2, 2, 3, 4, 5.

At this point I turned to another

ment to Mr. Isarmann beside me. He responded that the indictment was under Section 10. The judge's talking over.

I did not know it at the time but not only is the law under Section 10; the very charge to the jury is the self same section. Had I this I should have referred the court please. I am referring the section not only under the section but also under the indictment is brought under which Four Elephants is held. Now does Your Honor really mean to tell me that you do not know what section referring to?

I don't know what law would have been if the law the truth he would have admitted that he had been perjured. Whatever his answer, I have replied: "I am not perjured, Your Honor. I am here for the liberty of people. No further argument to make."

Then I should have said,

On Vanishing Civil Liberties

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for the Eleven told me that they had not succeeded in doing so at any time during the long trial. The Judge had played the same sort of cat-and-mouse game with them that he had tried with me. If the truth were known they were the ones who had been patient and long-suffering, not the judge.

There was the greatest heat ever generated in this country. The Judge, with the collaboration of the press and the radio, had led people to believe that it was essential for the Eleven who had been abusive and that he was the one who had been forebearing and tough enough upon almost starvation.

Immediately after the denial of bail we appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. The court consisted of Judges Learned Hand, Swan and Frank. There the story was different.

At the outset Judge Frank stated that he had been highly critical of Communists and asked me whether I thought he ought to sit to the case. I forthwith responded that I saw no reason why he shouldn't. I went on to say that I too, had fundamental differences with Communists and had stated them. But that the case did not involve the basic question of whether we were to remain a free country or keep on going down the road to some form of authoritarianism.

I then turned to other counsel for the Eleven, to ascertain their views. They immediately conurred in the position I had taken.

After we had argued, government counsel started to reply. Judge Hand asked him point blank whether he was going to contend that there were no substantial questions in the case. He hemmed a little, and then responded that he would not say there weren't. Not only did government counsel, by not denying it, in fact admit that the case involved substantial questions, but he added that those questions would ultimately have to go to the Supreme Court. This practically concluded the argument, for him.

The government, when put to the Circuit Court of Appeals had to reverse its position it had so adamantly held before, namely, that the case did involve substantial questions.

With this all, the government had to take a second setback. It demanded bail of \$24,000 and \$10,000. The reviewing court denied all, \$24,000 and \$10,000.

Now details have to be prepared and filed. After that the case will be argued, and then the Circuit Court of Appeals will render its decision. From this decision the losing party will attempt to get to the Supreme Court. In the meantime the American people should be at work building a united front for freedom and against fascism.

TOMORROW: Persecution is the Death-Dance of Civil Liberties.

... all the better for the defense. It is important to remember that the government's legal case is built up with buckshot. In running down the Attorney General, it has all the ammunition of all Americans.

The trial served notice on the people that being violently anti-Communist is not enough. You must also be violently pro-reactionary. Then you will be a good boy; you will have all your civil liberties and no good use to which to put them. If the Attorney General's office can make the individual indictment stick, he has his pattern all cut out for him. He can answer any strike, any powerful demand to curb American monopoly, by whipping out a similar indictment and applying it to all those who take a position which agrees with any segment of the Communist program Marx-Leninism!

The Twelve went to trial in a political lynch atmosphere. In "The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti," Louis Untermeyer and Edmund M. Morgan wrote:

"There is a vast quantity and variety of proof to the effect that nowhere in America, and nowhere in Massachusetts, could any jury have been assembled by any ordinary means whose majority would have been free from superstitious fears, irrational hatred, and incapacitating prejudices. Here is the heart of the whole just problem. Charges against the Sacco-Vanzetti jury are unprovable; but the incompetence of any jury, confronting with an issue of the sort tried at Dedham in 1921, can be proved up to the hilt."

Today our hindsight tells us

that the defense has committed suicide. It has committed itself automatically to a demagogic defense of an accused person, or group of persons, labelled. It has become the armchair facile in what physicians and psychologists call a conditioned reflex.

The propaganda pattern made it clear that the failure to condemn or reject such persons affected the security of the person so doing in his work, community, social relations, family, property and person."

I submit that this record of Nazi propaganda in 1934 accidentally parallels the current American anti-Communist campaign. The press and the administration want you to react like a trained dog when they present the stimulus of anti-Communism. I, for one, refuse to be a trained dog.

The moment the Grand Jury returned these indictments, the press began an underhanded campaign to conviction the defendants before the trial. That campaign was politically and morally degenerate. For instance, the moment the news of the indictments broke, many papers published photos of the defendants with numbers across their chests, in the style of the "Most Wanted" posters in the post office. Compare that with press photos of J. Parcelli Thomas which appeared after his indictment for fraud. Did you see any pictures of Thomas with a number on his chest?

In the words of the National Lawyers Guild, which filed a brief

with the court, "The American public, and of them or by the Communists Party, in the course of the three years since its formation from 1945 to date, or in the course of the 21 years of the previous existence of the Communist Party, alleging any acts of force or violence, or acts of the overthrow of the Government."

I repeat that, if your Honor pleases.

The Comie: Mr. They want to wait until they get everything out and then the acts will come.

The very launching of such a trial was a violation of the Bill of Rights. It represents a turning down in the history of American civil liberties because it placed on the stand a doctrine rather than a crime. If the doctrine of the Twelve can be tried, then you, too, can be tried for what you think. And if this comes about, I say to you that you will be tried for your best thoughts, not your worst.

I have stated my opposition to the theory of Communism. But I believe truly in the right of the American people to hear what Marxists have to say, and to judge for themselves. We are not children to be told how to think by men whose own thoughts on political matters might be repugnant to most of us. I am not afraid to meet the arguments of Marx-Lenin on a principled basis. I am convinced that the trial of the Twelve was a public confession of official political bankruptcy in which the inquisitors declared before the world that they were unable to answer theory with theory, doc-

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OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES

Anti-Red Slogans Protect the Thugs

By O. JOHN ROGGE

The immediate results of the indictments against the 12 Communist leaders gratified all except us "premature anti-fascists" who do not believe it premature ever to defend civil liberties. The indictments encouraged the very force and violence of which they accused the defendants. The ugliest elements in our society understand that they may now commit any crime in the book if they state that their actions were "aimed against Communism."

In November, 1948, a group of thugs attacked Robert G. Thompson, one of the Twelve, and knifed him. City officials made no serious attempt to investigate the crime or apprehend Thompson's assailants. The press claimed that the matter was exaggerated. Then followed insinuations and innuendos. Although Thompson was killed, and suffered a head injury, the press intimated that he was not really attacked. It was a political trick of the Communists to gain sympathy and publicize the trial of the Twelve.

Collusion, force, and violence!

This is an instalment of O. John Rogge's book "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties," published by Gar Associates, which is being serialized unabridged in THE COMPASS. Mr. Rogge has brought his book up to date, where necessary, with postscript.

How comfortable do you feel when the slogan of anti-Communism affords protection equally to the monopolist and the thug?

A subsequent event, of an uglier nature, corroborated the attack on Thompson. A private detective broke into Thompson's home. By the detective's own confession, his purpose was to make trouble for Thompson. Thompson happened to be at the movies with his wife. The housebreaker then insulted the Negro woman who was tending Thompson's children, an infant and a seven-year-old girl. In his own statement he admitted that he had indecently exposed himself before the child.

The newspapers faced a peculiar dilemma. After pooh-poohing the first attack on Thompson, to report the second incident publicly would be to confess that the snide remarks concerning the attempted assault on Thompson were inaccurate and irresponsible. The newspapers solved the problem without undue toasting at night or overlong conferences, simply by refusing to report this man's actions. The Herald Tribune even denied that it had heard of such a story, although its own reporter queried the Thompson family after the second attack.

What happened to the detective subsequently? I will tell you because it illustrates how the present anti-Red hysteria is degrading the courts and the people. Did there not exist a court transcript? I would find difficulty in believing so lurid a story.

The man in question, Robert J. Burke, went to trial and was convicted on charges of indecent exposure, and invading the morals of a minor. Before the Court could pronounce sentence, Chief Assistant District Attorney Irving Sha-

piro discovered an "error" in Burke's statement. The convenient discovery of this "error" altered Burke's original admission of indecent exposure, an admission which revolved around the word in question.

The verdict was set aside and a new trial ordered! (I have yet to see a trade unionist win a new trial on the basis of any comparable "error.")

In the second trial—and "trial" is a word which unduly dignifies the proceedings—Judges Alfred J. Hofmann, William Northrop, and Frederick Strong, brought in a "not guilty" verdict. Since the press had conspired (with rare exceptions) to bury the story, the city officials felt safe. Compare their solicitude for Burke with the official attitude toward men like Harold Christoffel, George Gorchoff, Harry D. White, or John Howard Lawson.

Burke, the free man, has other accomplishments than those to which he was tried. He was also arrested for stealing money from his foster parents in Troy, N. Y.

Yes, with the indictment of the Twelve, you have received your invitation to the death-dance of American civil liberties. To this dance come the banker and the murderer, the corporation president and the sex pervert. The Buchenwald band, led by Ilse Koch and her colleagues, will provide the music.

The dragon's teeth are sown. Citizens in Denver and Los Angeles have already raped the har-

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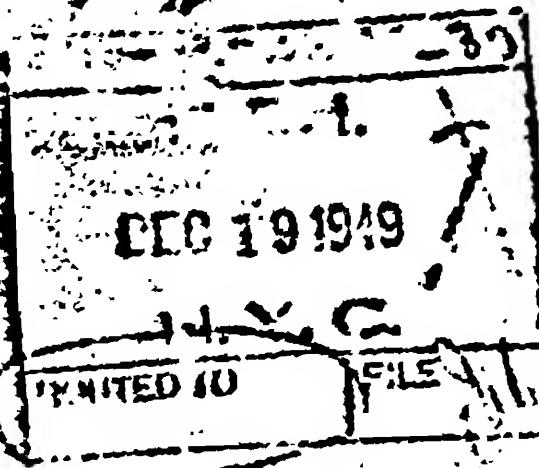
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Tale of these three Federal agents suddenly accused, Nancy, Anna, and Irene, of being Communists and therefore conspirators. In their political trial at the offices of the Communist Party, The People v. Paul, and Irene, the defense was unable to answer on their behalf, incriminating themselves before the Grand Jury. Judge Foster Symes of the U.S. District Court summarily held the three Denver defendants in contempt. He sentenced the two women to four months, and the man to six months in jail. See how slick it is? If the victims incriminate themselves before the Grand Jury, they invite the same indictments as those issued against the Twelve. If they refuse to answer questions, they go to jail for contempt. Law and Liberty become the coin game: heads you win, tails I lose.

In a few days two other Denverites, Arthur Bary and Paul Kleinbord, received the same judicial treatment.

The defendants immediately filed an appeal and asked that bail be set. Although they had a clear legal right to bail, neither the District nor Circuit Court of Appeals would grant it. Finally Justice Wiley Rutledge fixed bail.

After bail was set, a few large New York bonding companies joined the conspiracy against the defendants by refusing to write bonds for them. The original three were in jail for 40 days before bail was finally arranged. Jane Rogers, one of the three, is the mother of three small children.

The court meted out even more vindictive treatment to the last two defendants, Arthur Bary and

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CIVIL LIBERTIES

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Paul Kleinbord, who denied it, was asked to answer. They were to hear it all until such time as they would answer the Grand Jury's questions or until they would give the Grand Jury an excuse to hear defendants answer them.

In all this time, nobody accused the defendants of committing any illegal act or breaking any law before they testified to the Grand Jury. If you still have any shadow of a suspicion that this was not outright persecution, explain. If you will, why Jane Rogers had to call upon public support for a right to get permission for her young children to visit her. Denver also had to fight to get milk to BART and Kleinbord, both of whom are ill men. Dan suffered from chronic bronchiectasis, and Paul Kleinbord is tubercular.

Denver was the curtain-raiser for Los Angeles. Los Angeles officials had many inspirations for their actions. The Attorney General inspired them by his threats to prosecute doctrine. The press inspired them. The Denver case inspired them. But their true muse was really the national election. In the course of the election campaign, political charged that the Los Angeles administration was "Red." What do you do when you are accused of being a "Red"? Our heroes of Los Angeles knew only one answer: act like fascists. They did so, and with rare expertise.

The Los Angeles case was one of the most flagrant examples of indecent legal haste that I can remember. On Oct. 23, 1946, authorities issued subpoenas to Frank Edward Alexander, Wesley Bixby, Phillip Bock, Ben Dobbs, Dorothy Baskin Fore, Samuel Harry Kastowitz, Margaret Iris Noble, Myron Brooks Sheridan, Delphine Murphy Smith and Henry Steinberg. (The last has since grown, but I will confine myself to the story of their original 10.)

Those subpoenaed were ordered to appear before the Grand Jury. The Government had on hand Max H Goldschein, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, and his associate, James M. Carter.

This was no usual investigation. The defendants (and I mean that they became defendants the moment they were served) received their subpoenas at 7 o'clock in the morning. The subpoenas were returnable at 8 o'clock the same afternoon. Why the hurry? Was it to make it difficult for these men and women to prepare any defense, and to put obstacles in the way of their attorneys?

The trio of Gallagher, Margolis, St-Turner, and Ture, represented them. Mr. Noble and Mr. McTernan accompanied the defendants.

Here are the first questions which the Grand Jury asked those defendants:

1. Do you know the names of the county officers of the Los Angeles Communist Party?
2. Do you know the table of organization of the Los Angeles Communist Party?
3. Do you know Mr. Fred Spikes?

4. Do you know Mr. Vincent Russo?

The defendants all refused to answer the questions on the grounds that they had liberty of conscience and that they proved self-incriminating. Again they were unquestionably right. The proof is at hand.

Read the four questions. Was the Grand Jury seeking information? Of course not. The answers to those questions were public record. Surely the court, the United States, the FBI, and a few thousand Californians knew the names of the county officers of the Los Angeles Communist Party. Surely the officials knew the fundamental organizational structure of the Communist Party there. The use of the Army term "table of organization" was solely for the purpose of suggesting that the Communist Party is a military rather than political organization. Surely they knew that Fred Spikes is an open and public Communist Party official. And what of Vincent Russo? That question was so patent, unwarranted that the jury dropped it later. Vincent Russo was in the courtroom at the time.

The defendants went directly from the Grand Jury room to the courtroom where they appeared before Judge Pearson M. Hall, of the District Court, Southern District of California, Central Division. Judge Hall first listened to arguments by defense counsel for a continuance. Mr. Margolis and Mr. McTernan argued the obvious: they had no time to prepare an adequate defense for their clients. Judge Hall denied the request, although courts ordinarily grant a continuance even to murderers, burglars, or rapists, under such circumstances.

Judge Hall then ordered the defendants to go back to the Grand Jury room and answer the questions. The defendants returned, but still refused to answer. I am happy that they did because I feel that they defended me and my own civil liberties by their actions.

I will give you a one-sentence character sketch of Judge Pearson M. Hall. When another man (not of the original 10) received a similar subpoena and refused to answer similar questions, Judge Hall remarked, in the courtroom: "I would like to ask him some questions we ordinarily ask the Mexicans and others who come up here."

The Grand Jury—blue ribbon of course—remained to session until midnight, without any opportunity to consult effectively with counsel. The defendants ran from Grand Jury room to court, and back again, and back and more. After they refused to answer the questions the second time, Judge Hall ordered them handcuffed and imprisoned until such time as they would agree to answer. Then he refused to set bail!

Here is a brief exchange which will illustrate the judicial objectivity of Judge Pearson M. Hall. Mr. McTernan was arguing for a postponement so that he and his colleague could have time to prepare their work.

JUDGE: They (the defendants) have had an opportunity to consult counsel, here they are!

McTERNAN: That have had an opportunity to consult counsel. I have told you the limitations under which counsel have worked all day. I am sure your Honor will agree that there are few situations to which lawyers are called out of bed to handle cases of this kind.

COURT: It depends on how late they sleep, counsel.

McTERNAN: The question, Your Honor, is how much opportunity they have had to prepare themselves to research the law and to defend themselves to defend the position in court on which their clients stand the risk of losing their liberty. We submit to your Honor that we have not had such an opportunity.

"It depends on how late they sleep, counsel."

Perhaps Judge Pearson M. Hall would like to tell the public the last time he held court at 7 o'clock in the morning.

Naturally, the defendants did not get bail until people put up a considerable battle to their behalf.

Harold L. Ickes, writing in the New York Post, commented as follows on the Los Angeles case:

"I have not been able to find in our eastern press any mention of what has come to be known as the Pacific Coast as 'The Case of the Los Angeles Ten.' This was a case of six men and four women thrown into jail and held without bail for approximately nine days, without a complaint filed or a trial held. They had refused to answer in the chambers of United States District Judge Pearson Hall and before a Federal Grand Jury, questions relating to their political opinions and associations, presumably suspect as to Communism.

"Certainly the conduct of this case, as it has come to me, has been sensational enough to make headlines. Moreover, there appears to have developed a situation as to which every American should be informed. The issue involved is the right of the private citizen to enjoy the guarantees in the Constitution.

"I am acquainted with none of the ten, although I do know Judge Hall. I know nothing of any of them individually, except that the wife of Mr. Holloman Noble, the novelist, was active in behalf of Progressive Party candidates in the San Fernando Valley of California. I do not know whether she or any others of the ten were among Henry Wallace's Communists or 'Yella-traveler' supporters. However, I do know about freedom of opinion, and freedom of association under the Constitution. I have a conviction about dropping the people into jail without trial before a trial, and even before any charge has been made."

Mr. Ickes concluded this opinion by repriming a letter from Mr. Noble, recounting the details.

Once America is divided into two groups, one to which law and liberty apply, and one to which they do not, no American can live with the assurance that he has guarantees against legal lynching.

We may learn too late, as the German liberals learned too late, that "They said Communists, but they meant us."

TOMORROW: The Treason Suspects—Northern Style.

Brooks' defense group was given
enough time. However, Mr. H. L. Bridges in his defense trial was
given no time for argument at
court! The Minister is not to
blame!

If the bar fails and fails to
oppose such tyranny, those of us
who defend nonorthodox clients
will be faced with this alternative:
either we are craven and like Judge
Sheep help lead our clients to it;
or we defend them rigorously
go to jail with them.

I am sorry to have to add
as yet there has been little if
any way of united action by the bar
behalf either of counsel for the
Eleven or counsel for Bridges.

After the verdict against the
Eleven, Councilman Ben Dark re-
tained me as his counsel in his
application for bail. Although I
argued for him my argument was
for the benefit of all the Eleven.

The law provides for bail in any
case where there is a substantial
question of law to be passed on by
a reviewing court. That there are
a number of such questions in the
case of the Eleven no honest per-
son will deny. However, McGobey,
the prosecutor, and Medina did
deny it. McGobey has since been
promoted to be one of Medina's
associates on the bench.

The right to bail was so clear
that I asked at the outset of my

New York, New York

December 14, 1949

MEMO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-1-2007 BY SP-1226

By report dated December 7, 1949, Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] attended the "Shall We For Peace", sponsored by subject organization at Madison Square Garden, on December 5, 1949.

The purpose of this rally was the outlawing of the atom bomb and the appeal for peace throughout the world, and urging more friendly relations with Russia.

Principal speakers were GEORGE P. BOYD, JOHN RICHARD LARSON, A. T. MILLARD HOWARD Nichols, MELVIN DRAPE, RICHARD HIRSHFELD, AND DR. JOHN A. KINSEY and ex-governor ALBERT ELLIOT of Minnesota.

FRANK R. LONGO, Esq.

cc: 105-314 (R.C.)
100-23918 (Larson)
100-20246 (Nichols)
100-21713 (Draper)
100-5159 (Hirshfeld)
100-61206 (Elliott)
100-61163 (Kinsey)
100-23721 (Kinslow)

FBI - NEW YORK
100-7518

100-9545-31
FBI - NEW YORK
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File # 7

Berford said there will be rallies for Peace such as the one in the
garden all over the United States.

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December 5, 1949
7:30 PM

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY FOR PEACE

Attendance some 15,000.

Speakers:

Chas. P. Howard, John Howard Lawson, Rev. William Howard Belish, Muriel Draper, Odilia Boggs, Howard Fast, Richard Morford, Dr. John A. Kingsbury and several speakers who would start speaking in Russian, Hungarian, French, Spanish and Chinese, their voices would be quieted while the voices of 100 Unity Chorus and American Peoples Chorus would sing leftist and communist songs and the voice of a translator in the midst of the platform would translate the speeches in English. All this in a darkened house with spot lights on the speakers to produce a dramatic presentation.

All the speakers asked for Peace Outlawing the Atom Bomb and friendship for the Soviet Union. The meeting was under auspices of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, 114 East 32nd Street, Tel 3-2050, tickets were sold at Bookfair, 113 East 44th Street, NYC.

Jefferson Book Shop, 975 6th Avenue, Local 65, 13 Astor Place, Workers Book Shop, 50 East 13th Street, Fraternal Mine Service, 80-5th Avenue, all in New York City. Muriel Draper made a dramatic entrance wearing a white silk scarf. She said she was just landed from plane in from Russia and was mighty glad to be back in our beloved country, America. She kept repeating how glad she was to be back in beloved America. She really seemed glad to be back and left the stand repeating how glad she was to be back. She did not get as many applauses when she left as she did when she entered.

Another speaker was ex-governor of Minnesota Albert Benson (Benson) just back from visit behind the iron curtain and praised everything he saw and condemned the U.S. representatives there that would not try to see or go where he went, factories, etc., etc. He praised the Polish Czech and all police forces behind the Iron Curtain for their gentleness compared to our city finest (police).

Albert Benson ex-Governor of Minnesota and Chairman of the American Progressive Party praised all the countries in the Iron Curtain and knock the work of the United Nations in their shortcomings in not bringing closer Soviet Union relations with the Western countries.

Richard Morford read a few cables one for Dr. John A. Kingsbury, from someone in the Soviet Union in the society for friendship, Among Nations. The wire from Moscow praised Dr. Kingsbury for his effort and wish the Peace Rally success. Another wire came from Madame Curie in Paris with good wishes to the Peace Rally. Another came from Shanghai and Madame Sun Yen Sen with her good wishes and excuses for not being here after being invited to come. Morford then started the usual collection, he got several checks for 500 dollars and several cash donations from 1000 dollars to one dollar. The usher cleared up among the audience and in all they collected several thousand dollars.

Lawyers Must Not Be Compromisers

This is an instalment of O. John Rogge's book, "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties," published by Gaer Associates, which is being serialized unabridged in THE COMPASS.

By O. JOHN ROGGE

After the trial of the Trenton Six, the Civil Rights Congress stepped into the case and retained me to defend three of the victims. I, and my colleagues of the bar, William Patterson, Emanuel Bloch, Solomon Golat, Clarence Talisman, and Earl Dickerson, now await the appeal. Shortly after I was retained I attended a press conference relevant to the case. This took place on Wednesday, Jan. 26, 1949. At this press conference I stated, "I am in the case of the Trenton Six because I regard it as the Northern Scottsboro case."

The following day the New York Times carried a small item which reported the press conference. The item came to the attention of Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New Jersey State Supreme Court. He immediately called New Jersey counsel to say that unless I submitted a letter of apology before 8:30 of the following morning he would have me before the full bench of the Supreme Court on the next Monday. The full bench consists of the Chief Justice and six associates.

I wrote a letter at once, and sent it by messenger to my colleague, Mr. Clarence Talisman. He, in turn, read it over the phone to Judge Vanderbilt. The letter follows:

Dear Judge Vanderbilt:

I have been advised by the firm of Talisman & Golat, with whom I am associated in the case of State v. Cooper, et al., Docket No. 180, that Your Honor was critical of some comments I made to the press based on the record in that case. I wish to advise Your Honor that my comments were in accordance with the Canons of Ethics and with the cases of Bridges v. California, 314 U. S. 252, and Pennekamp v. Florida, 328 U. S. 331.

In no way during the course of my comments did I reflect adversely upon the integrity of the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey. On the contrary, I stated that my co-counsel and I confidently trusted in the judgment of that Court. Nor were my remarks intended or calculated to influence the decision of this Court except in accordance with the applicable principles of law.

Respectfully yours,
O. John Rogge

That evening Mr. Talisman phoned me at my home to inform me that Judge Vanderbilt did not consider my letter an apology. The Judge insisted that I must appear before the full bench unless I came to New Jersey with my stationery and wrote what he would consider an acceptable apology. I met with my colleagues at 10 o'clock that night. I stated that I saw no reason to amend my letter, and I asked Mr. Talisman to tell this to Judge Vanderbilt.

The following morning Mr. Tal-

Bloch, had discussed Jim-Crowism in the North.

Judge Vanderbilt then asked if I were not aware that the practice and custom of the court have it that lawyers do not comment on their cases except in their briefs, and in court. I answered that if such was the rule of the court, that rule conflicted both with my duty to my clients, with the First Amendment to the Constitution, and with the two cases which I had cited in my letter.

A little later, Judge Vanderbilt produced a clipping from a Trenton newspaper. He asked whether that paper's report that I was to address a Trenton mass meeting that night was correct. Would I talk about the case? Would I discuss it in the same terms as I had in my press conference? He wanted a blunt answer to a blunt question: Did I still intend to keep my Trenton speaking engagement?

Without giving him a categorical answer, I explained that I considered it not only my right but my duty to speak in Trenton that night. When I began to elaborate on my reasons, Judge Vanderbilt cut me short. He insisted on a categorical answer to his question. I gave it to him.

I told him firmly that I intended to speak.

I had learned from the Halitsky case in which a Loyalty Board had demanded my private notes. I remembered that I had compromised and agreed to let them be burned. I also remembered my resolution never again to compromise in such matters.

After a recess, Judge Vanderbilt said, in effect:

Mr. Rogge feels obliged to speak on racial discrimination in Trenton tonight. He intends to speak of it in reference to this case. How would Mr. Rogge feel if the County Prosecutor were to make public addresses and issue newspaper statements on the case? To allege race discrimination in this case, and to compare it to other cases in which race prejudice has been a factor, would constitute an indirect attempt to bring pressure to bear on the court. The court has a right to be protected against such conduct. When a lawyer enters a case, he abrogates the right to speak as freely in public concerning the matter on trial as

Rights." In his address, he described the case of a man who was thrown out of a small town simply because local officials did not like him. "Their prejudice against him was not color or race. Nor was he a vagrant. He was gainfully employed and had no police record. But he had physical characteristics which gave him an unwelcome appearance."

Mr. Justice Douglas continued: "... He was stripped of his liberties, not by private citizens but by a court. This was done not by the standards of law nor in accordance with constitutional procedural requirements, but by totalitarian methods. It is, of course, shocking to everyone when a court becomes a lawless agent of a community. But equally shocking to me was that in this instance no lawyer in the community raised his voice in protest." (My emphasis. O. J. R.)

Further in the speech Mr. Justice Douglas declared:

"What goes on in the jails? How long are prisoners kept incommunicado before being booked? Are they booked on fictitious charges to conceal another charge not yet established? Do third-degree practices go on behind the closed doors of police stations? Are the odious general warrants re-entering the American scene? Does the police system follow totalitarian lines by putting force ahead of brain in crime detection? Do prisoners—no matter what their race, wealth, or social standing—enjoy the right to counsel? Are juries drawn without discrimination? Is there censorship of ideas in the community?"

Such problems, said Mr. Justice Douglas,

"... may even entail a re-education of a community. But whether the particular task is big or small, it has peculiar challenge to the Bar. It is in keeping with the great tradition of the Bar for it to become the vanguard of these reforms. (My emphasis. O. J. R.)

I speak out in the case of the Trenton Six because now, if ever, we need a re-education of the national community! Will silence answer a situation in which Jim Crow and segregation are becoming a policy of Federal, state, and

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OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES

Official Suppressed Trenton Evidence

This is a supplementary chapter to D. A. R. Roper's book "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties" written especially for THE COMPASS to bring the book up-to-date. The book, which is being serialized sectionally in this newspaper, as published by Our Attorneys in Sunday's installment, Roper described the trial of the Trenton Six—marked, he said, the Northern Bradfords' Case. Last Friday, Roper said, the other New York lawyers were denied the right further to represent them of the Trenton Six. On the other side, Charles P. Hitchcock, whose evidence was thrown out by the N. J. Supreme Court, gave a list reasons given by Justice McHughen for casting the defense out that they had failed the test of "Truth & Scruples" and "Decency."

By O. JOHN BODDIE.

We are in the case of the Trenton Six at all points on appeal. The Supreme Court of New Jersey, among other things, not only reversed because Mercer County Prosecutor Veale suppressed confessions, but also because he suppressed evidence.

With reference to the evidence suppressed the court relied on language dictated by the U. S. Supreme Court just three days earlier. The N. J. Supreme Court ruled this language from one of the opinions of the U. S. Supreme Court.

"...is the gravitation of all men to do a great or a trifling act, like violence which causes it to be uttered to escape notice of all its neighbors. It is to give an idea of the power of opinion as to offend the procedure or standards of the process. This is so because it violates the protective principle of our government of the criminal law. Our is the accusatorial; as opposed to the inquisitorial system. In the inquisitorial system, the accused is subjected of an attorney appointed by the police for the purpose of eliciting admissions, or confessions, as torture. In the accusatorial system, the accused is subjected to the judicial system. It is preferred in the discretion of the judge to the discretion of counsel."

When the Supreme Court of New Jersey dealt with Veale's suppression of evidence to sustain his defense, it caused a moment's pause.

"There is no provision which goes beyond the tract of suppression to deny evidence in the exercise of power as inquisitorial. The American spirit of justice is born in a criminal case. The old President in this country, before whom I stood, said, 'I would宁 give my right hand to the plotters of treason if I could get away with it.'"

On the appeal to the Supreme Court of New Jersey, the court's decision, as set in the opinion of Justice and very able Presiding Justice, John W. McCormick, was that we are a very cautious people. The Justice wrote, "The defense witnesses were allowed to be the open prosecution who could and the upper half of myself and the upper half of any of us break. They didn't last this long, and the hill didn't we had them, I say, for the defense. In fact, of this year we suppressed the inquisitorial system. Lieutenant G. E. Sharpe. On the stand he said, or that he had taken the bottle and the top half of the other bottle, had broken them, had found prints, but had cleaned both of the water and had taken a cloth and wiped the bottle and

half bottle clean. Thus destroying whatever evidence there was of fingerprints.

He also disclosed another astounding fact: he had made no report until a few days after the service of our subpoena in July, 1948, after the reversal, and a year and a half after he had made his investigation. He explained that the Prosecutor's office had requested the detailed report on the ground that it would look better to have one. In view of the service of the subpoena.

From the fingerprint expert the top half of the bottle went to the state laboratory for examination.

The laboratory examination showed that there was no human skin, no human blood, no human tissue, and no human hair save one (although there were a number of hairs on the bottle all save one were of animal origin). And Prosecutor Veale, with the report in his possession, nevertheless suppressed the bottle as, as part of the Edward Murphy defense.

The alleged fingerprint expert bears no date—a date he would have been embarrassed. After the item, "Day and Time Investigated" there is the entry, "7:30 a.m. January 22, 1948. (approximately). For a card." Appropriate in the epoch that Lieutenant Sharpe could no longer remember the exact time, since the alleged report was prepared more than a year and a half after the time of the investigation. We will note that the date which he gives is 1948. Other, the date he made his investigation was actually 1949.

But we are not yet at the end of the acts of iniquity of Prosecutor Veale, as in the retained the suppressed evidence he received a motion to bar previously made that the documents be returned on bail. There was nothing left in the case. We had established a great victory.

Afterwards, Veale had his attorney over and asked me to give her bail.

These innocent men, the same narrating events to the Legislature in Trenton, New Jersey, are still at prison for a crime that did not commit.

This month I drafted a petition which an colleague, William L. Patterson, Chairman of Black and Decker, Oaklawn, and I submitted to Gov. Dixson of New Jersey. We ask him to have the Attorney General take over the cause of Prosecutor Veale and dismiss the case of the Trenton Six. Our request was refused. Here is part of our petition:

"Prosecutor Veale's conduct has resulted in alienation between the State of New Jersey and most that it has caused emotional and actual, but only in the business states, but also caused him to call a few examples. The record which he has produced in this case is so bad that even their legislature, which can hardly be classed as a publication of an additional nature, had the following to say in its National Affairs Section in the issue of July 21, 1949:

"...no reason to feel proud of the nation of the murder of a red William Horner, Trenton junkman. For five days in February, 1947, the Trenton police turned the city of 250,000 Negroes upside down, but not to find evidence that they were party to robbing old man Horner in his shop, and to sentence him to death and a cap bottle. During the 66-day trial, no fingerprints were found on the powder bottle, apparently the evidence would have helped the defense, and was spoken by the trial court. The six men found guilty, sentenced to die in the electric chair...."

"...and all the Trenton case been recognized throughout the nation as a masterpiece of racism, but this is not far from the world to support the charge that we are hypocrites. When we speak of Democracy, The Black Caucus of Davis, Atlanta, point out by its members, a distinguished English lawyer, Donald H. Wantch, to indicate that the case of Trenton should have been held in England, France, Czechoslovakia and other countries. The State Department, has requested my help in the case for its international liaison representative at Czechoslovakia to the American Bar and around the world.

"We know that our own white citizens, Americans who have fought racism want to see our own citizens of color as that which occurred in the case of the Trenton Six. It was in this way because it is a "Southern" Southern case. We are in this case because it reflects a trend in government in this country in making discrimination governmental policy. We are in this case because we know that our national character, in the fact that it disgraces us all of our history. North or South, we have always shown compassion for the Negro people.

We are in this case because we know that such race segregation laws and practices are disgraceful, laws to show contempt for our species and it will become next to those contemptible. For another aspect, even then the people around, and then we teach that good and democratic form of Government is over.

"Such men as Prosecutor Veale must be stripped of their cloak by those of us who have a feeling for the freedom and dignity of the individual or there will be none of this freedom or dignity left for any of us.

"You again speak out in the case of the Trenton Six because here, as ever, we need a re-education of the national community. Will anyone suffer a situation in which Jim Crow and segregation are becoming a policy of Federal, State and Municipal Government? In the South it is open, government terror. As the North legalizes through the brackets a program like a Jim Crow Program, a policeman like a Negro to protect a policeman trained a Negro in New York's East Side. ... That is what we...

grinned me at his words to inform me that Judge Vanderbilt did not consider my letter an apology. Judge insisted that I must appear before the full bench unless I came to New Jersey with my attorney and wrote what he would consider an acceptable apology. I met with my colleagues at 10 o'clock that night. I stated that I saw no reason to amend my letter, and I asked Mr. Talaman to tell this to Judge Vanderbilt.

The following morning Mr. Talaman called to say that Judge Vanderbilt had summoned all the defense lawyers before the full bench of seven judges at 3 o'clock that afternoon.

We appeared. A stenographer took down the proceedings. Since then I have requested a transcript of those proceedings, but I have been advised that no such transcript exists. I give you what transpired there on the basis of full and accurate notes which correctly indicate the substance and sentiment of the proceedings.

Judge Vanderbilt asked me if I held a press conference. I said that I had. He asked if I had referred to the case as a "Northern Scottsboro," I said that I had.

Then he asked me if, in my statement, I had intended to reflect on the conduct of the trial judge. I answered that I had, indeed, intended to reflect on the conduct of the trial judge, but I reiterated that I had confidence in, and respect for, the State Supreme Court. I also agreed that I had commented on the confessions, and that my colleague, Mr.

County Attorney Mr. Talaman, made public addresses and in newspaper statements on the case? To allege race discrimination in this case, and to compare it to other cases in which race prejudice has been a factor, would constitute an indirect attempt to bring pressure to bear on the court. The court has a right to be protected against such conduct. When a lawyer enters a case, he abrogates the right to speak as freely in public concerning the matter on trial as other citizens. Once an attorney has accepted a retainer which takes him into court, he assumes special obligations which definitely bar him from public discussion of the case.

Judge Vanderbilt concluded by announcing that he would leave the matter of my speaking in Trenton to my sound judgment. He expressed confidence that I would do nothing to violate the proprieties of the case. The court adjourned.

Two reporters immediately approached me to ask if I intended to speak in Trenton that night. I declared emphatically, "I certainly do."

I am not alone in my conception of the duties of an attorney in such a case. In an address delivered before the 1947 meeting of the Rhode Island Bar Association (reprinted in The Journal of the American Judicature Society for April, 1948), Mr. Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court discussed "Procedural Safeguards in the Bill of

the Bar. It is in keeping with the great tradition of the Bar for it to become the vanguard of these reforms." (Emphasis. O. J. R.)

I speak out in the case of the Trenton Six because now, if ever, we need a re-education of the national community! Will silence answer a situation in which Jim Crow and segregation are becoming a policy of Federal, state, and municipal governments? In the South it is the open, unvarnished lynch terror. In the North we use legal formalities to disguise the lynchings. A policeman kills a Negro in Freeport. A policeman kills a Negro in Brooklyn. A policeman wounds a Negro in New York's East Side. In none of these cases was any brutality justified. Who encourages such brutality? Who condones it after the fact?

If we stand by while the Negro people fight a defensive battle for elementary rights, we will disgrace ourselves with more such ugly tumors on the body politic as the Dixiecrat movement, the embodiment of all that is most backward in our society. But if we fight for, and with, the Negro people, then and only then will we be able to win the battle for American civil liberties.

The court did more than try and sentence six defendants in Trenton. The court passed sentence on ten million Negroes.

And on 130 million whites.

MONDAY: The N. J. Supreme Court Speaks; The Fight Goes On.

A Hangin' Judge

County Judge Charles P. Hutchinson of Trenton, New Jersey, has made into the description originating to the cattle country of Wild West days — "hangin' judge."

It was an apt phrase for the kind of summary judgment handed out often in the lawless days by a frequently self-appointed hangaroo court boss who believed in "hangin' 'em first and askin' questions after" — a precept which not only struck terror into the hearts of cattle rustlers, but also into the hearts of all stringers, particularly those a mile off on the trail.

The record of the original trial of six Trenton Negro citizens, all convicted of murder, and all sentenced to death by County Judge Hutchinson, is replete with error and prejudice.

Since the victims were poor, and therefore without means for adequate defense — trial counsel having been assigned by the court and the defense having been conducted in performance; since some among them were illiterate; and particularly since all were Negro in a community which has had a considerable hangover from the plantation days, the border case proceeded to the taking of the judge-almost.

The jury found the men guilty on the "evidence," which consisted chiefly of alleged confessions produced after many hours of Jersey police "questioning" accompanied by violence.

But the jury failed to be unequivocal about its conviction that the murder had been premeditated, first degree, and no mistake.

The jury's verdict failed to be specific as to degree and also was accompanied by a recommendation of life imprisonment. That didn't suit County Judge Hutchinson.

The Judge disregarded the defect in the finding, disregarded evidence as to the illegal and unjustified method of extracting the alleged "confessions," disregarded the recommendation of life imprisonment — and sentenced all six to death.

That they were not promptly executed is possibly due to the fact that the Judge does not completely control the execution.

As the final date for execution neared, numerous stories concerning the actual whereabouts of the six men at the time the murder was committed began to be circulated among the frightened poor, some of whom had knowledge of the determination of the police to find some scapegoat for "solving" the unsolved murder.

The weekly newspaper, the National Guardian, investigated some of the evidence, talked with relatives and acquaintances of the men, and printed the doubts. The Civil Rights Congress was interested, examined more and further evidence, and engaged O. John Roger as counsel in behalf of three of the men, after Roger had himself been convinced that the entire suffered an enormous gross miscarriage of justice.

The effort of defense was by no means easy. The men were transported, drugged to the death house. Roger could not see them and — as he reluctantly admitted to me — told Hutchinson, "You shall not witness of executing him on execution day." Finally a sister of one of the men succeeded to get a secret of who was going on sentence, and contact with defense was established.

The Supreme Court of the State was not easier to move to an "all-right" lawyer (Roger practices in New Jersey by courtesy being accredited to the New York bar). But when it did consent to hear, it acted promptly.

The case was reversed. The Supreme Court agreed that the Judge did not have jurisdiction to pronounce the death sentence, in view of the verdict and of the jury's recommendation. The trial record was filled with error. The confessions had clearly been tortured from the prisoners and were not competent evidence. The case was ordered retried. The Judge reversed. But Friday, "hangin'" County Judge Hutchinson had his revenge again.

After a morning of routine clearing the decks for trial, he suddenly produced an eight-page typewritten statement, implying abuse upon Roger and his associate counsel, declared them incompetent to practice in his court, threatened judicial action against one member of counsel who is admitted to the Jersey bar . . . and thus had his revenge. He deprived the defendant of the attorney who had won a reversal of the Judge's own illegal sentence!

It is clear not only that it will be impossible for the defendants to get a fair trial before Judge Hutchinson, and that a change of venue must be ordered if injustice is not to be placed upon injustice; it is clear also that the Judge has given evidence of compound incompetence . . . and that he, rather than defense counsel, should be tried before the Jersey bar.

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and with the
and only then

will we be able to win the battle
for American civil Liberties.

"Mr. Governor, we beseech you
to remove this blot of shame from
the State of New Jersey, to ex-
punge this prime example to the
world of our hypocrisy. We be-
seech you to have the Attorney
General take over the duties of
Prosecutor Volpe and nolle prosse
the case of the Trenton Six to the
end that justice may regain its
good name in your state and that
Americans may stand with dignity
when they speak of democracy."

TOMORROW: The Summation.

'Trenton 6' Judge Faces New Fight

By DAN GILLMOR

~~Jersey~~ Judge Charles P. Hutchinson will be named defendant in a Federal Court action charging him with denying three Negroes the right to counsel of their own choosing in the celebrated "Trenton Six" murder case, THE DAILY COMPASS learned yesterday.

Hutchinson, whose death sentence against "The Six" was thrown out by the State Supreme Court, ruled last Friday that former Assistant U.S. Attorney Gen. O. John Rogge, Emanuel Block and William Patterson could not defend Ralph Cooper, Collis English and James Thorpe Jr., in a re-trial scheduled for Jan. 9.

Had Sought Bail

The judge's action came after the attorneys vainly tried to get him to force the state to reveal withheld evidence favoring the defense and to grant bail to the six prisoners, who have been in jail almost two years on charges of murdering a Trenton second-hand furniture dealer, William Horner.

The case has been widely publicized by the Civil Rights Congress and other organizations as a "Northern Scottsboro." Witnesses have come forward to swear that the men could not possibly have been involved in the slaying.

Declining to comment on the reliable report that he planned Federal Court action against

See Editorial, "A Hangin' Judge," Page 18.

Hutchinson, Rogge said yesterday: "We are fairly well decided what we are going to do and we will take appropriate action in Trenton Monday or Tuesday. I understand, by the way, that the defendants will refuse court-appointed counsel."

Rogge pointed out that Hutchinson had not charged him and his fellow attorneys with contempt, but "simply is trying to eliminate us before the trial even begins."

Federal court action, it is believed, would deal not only with the constitutional rights of defendants to choose their own counsel, but might also involve the seldom-used Civil Rights Act, adopted after the Civil War to protect ex-slaves.

Rogge recalled that Hutchinson and Chief Justice Vanderbilt of the New Jersey Supreme Court "admitted us much earlier in the case as counsel for the duration. It is there that I base my contention that I am still counsel. I intend to continue as such."

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OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES

Is A-Bomb Scare A 'Reichstag Fire'?

By O. JOHN ROGGE

I have come to you as an attorney presenting evidence. If I have resorted to a bitter jest at times it is because I feel that we are losing our guarantee of redress against grievances. Now, in closing my case, I offer my summation as I would in court.

Fashions in politics change. Some people consider it old-fashioned to talk of fascism. I disagree. I think that a deadly parallel emerges today: the parallel between the Germany of 1933 and the America of 1948 and 1949.

When I was on lecture tours, I frequently prefaced my remarks with the introductory statement, "I am not a Communist — but." Indeed, in my manuscript on fascism which I completed in June, 1947, I originally planned a chapter entitled, "I am not a Communist — but." As time went on I found it less and less necessary to preface my ideas with such an introduction. It became somewhat of a burden. It was a self-purge, a plea on bended knee to John Rankin to treat the poor liberal with tenderness. I learned to offer my ideas, right or wrong, on their merits and without apologies to the gentleman from Mississippi and his colleagues.

When I once sat down to talk about foreign policy with Sen. Claude Pepper in his room in the Senate Office Building, he began by saying, "I am no Communist, Mr. Rogge, but."

But what? But Senator Pepper felt we must learn to live in the same world with the Soviet Union. But Senator Pepper thought that a new world war would end America's freedom. But Senator Pepper thought that atomic war would end mankind.

Do such ideas need apologies? I asked him why he used the phrase. "Self-defense," he answered, smiling. Then he recounted an experience. "Only recently," he said. "I was at a party given by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman. The Italian Ambassador was supposed to speak, but he didn't show up so they asked me to talk.

This is an installment of O. John Rogge's book "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties," published by Gaer Associates, which is being serialized unabridged in THE COMPASS. Mr. Rogge has brought his book up to date, where necessary, with postscripts.

Well, I got onto Russia and made a few observations, friendly, I guess, about Molotov. Then—it started!

"Marquis Childs, the writer, and a reporter for the Herald Tribune were there, and in two minutes I was forced into a position of defending Gerhardt Eisler.

"That was the logic of their position. Every Communist is a spy for Russia, and anyone who says a word that's neutral about Russia is a Communist."

The Senator removed his shell-rimmed glasses and spoke slowly, with great care. "No, Mr. Rogge, this witch-hunt atmosphere in which we work in Washington is so bad, that I try to joke about it. If you treat it too seriously, well, they call you a Communist."

Later in the conversation he remarked, "All Washington needs now is a Reichstag Fire to top things off and send us spiralling toward fascism."

A Reichstag Fire!

When I later spoke to Dave Carr and Drew Pearson in their Washington offices, Carr went further. "There is a Reichstag Fire in the making," he said. "The atom bomb scare, that's your Reichstag Fire. The flames haven't caught on yet—but watch. You may see them blaze."

If we have our American Reichstag Fire, could anyone ask for a better Van der Lubbe than Whittaker Chambers?

On my lecture tours I always spoke of the danger of fascism, and always had to meet this reply: What about the twin evil, Bolshevism? Is not the Communist Party the great danger the American people face?

unspoiled. We keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy."

Who is it who shows such tender concern for the American worker's healthy state of mind? A representative of the State Department? An Administration adviser? A labor union executive? It is none of these. It is Al Capone, the deceased Chicago gangster, whose political pronouncement differed in no whit from those of many American statesmen today.

The "Communist threat" in America explains very little to those who examine it. It does not explain why the government hounded, pilloried, and removed from their posts men of bold vision and intelligent planning, men such as Henry Wallace and Henry Morgenthau, men whose lamps burned late in their offices after night, men who helped shape our foreign policy at Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods, Potsdam and San Francisco, men with faith that America and Americans could help build the better world.

Insidiously, step by step, the enemies of our civil liberties have advanced behind the poisonous smoke-screen of the "Communist threat." Consider what has happened in our America in the last few years:

The indictment of the members of the Executive Board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee;

The irresponsible smearing of American citizens by the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities and its state prototypes;

The passage of the Taft-Hartley Law which was designed to destroy organized American labor;

The indictment of Harold Christoffel;

Deportation proceedings against Michael J. Obermeier of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, A.F.L.; John Santo, former director of Organization of the Transport Workers Union, C.I.O.; and more than one hundred other active unionists and progressives;

The issuance of the Loyalty

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PROFESSOR
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meetings of the Progressive F...
in some parts of America;

The institution of censorship over teachers and students in universities;

The action of Columbia University, City College of New York, Brooklyn College, and Hunter College, in banning Howard Fast, leading American writer, speaking on the campus;

George Washington University's denial of a charter to the American Veterans Committee, and refusal of Hunter, Queens, other colleges, to charter chapters of the Young Progressive Citizens of America;

The Attorney General's excessive issuance of a list of organizations which he characterized as "subversive";

The attempts to pass the McCarran Bill;

The increasing terror, against Negro Americans and the emergence of the Dixiecrats—a white supremacy movement;

The trial of doctrine, rather than acts, in the case of the Communists leaders;

The Denver and Los Angeles jail-by-subpoena technique;

The passage of a Displaced Persons law which discriminates against victims of fascism, and admits "reconstructed" Nazis;

The attempt to bar books by such authors as Arthur Miller, Laura Hobson, Charles Darnton, Thomas Paine, Louis Adamic, Stuart Chase, Arthur Garfield Hays, Charles A. Beard, Oliver LaFarge, and many others from the

that was the basis of their
illor Party Communist is a
for R., da, and anyone who
is a re: that's neutral about
da is a Communist."

The Hearst removed his shell-
lined glasses and spoke slowly.
He said here, "No, Mr. Roger,
in which kind atmosphere in
which we work in Washington is
time, that I try to joke about it.
you know H. L. Mencken, well,
as still I am a Communist."
Later in the conversation he re-
marked, "All Washington needs
is a Reichstag Fire to top
things off and send us spiralling
ward fascism."

A Reichstag Fire!

When I later spoke to Dave Carr
and Drew Pearson in their Wash-
ington offices, Carr went further.
There is a Reichstag Fire in the
making," he said. "The atom bomb
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ism? Is not the Communist Party
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face?

I thought long and hard about
the problem. My answer did not
come easily nor was it on the tip
of my tongue. I took my time
telling up my mind. Now I can
say, "Answer, as a former
member of the United States At-
torney's Office, without
any fear of contradiction, that
Bolshevism is not the great
danger the American face."

What is Communism? The
best to higher wages in the
case of increased living costs? The
working Party, fighting for the
veto vote in the South, was
simply branded part of the
Communist conspiracy." Must
the American people fear giving
the franchise to the Negro people?
those way of life would that
trash?

I have spoken of the specious
unity of monopolist and labor spy,
liberal and pork-barrel politician,
whipping up the opti-Communist
neurosis. Here is a typical pol-
itical pronouncement:

"Bolshevism is knocking at our
doors. We can't afford to let it in.
We have got to organize ourselves
against it and put our shoulders
overgether and hold fast. We must
make America whole and safe and

update our the governmental
bureaucracy, and removed
from the posts men of bold
vision, intelligent planning,
men such as Henry Wallace and
Henry Morgenthau, men whose
lamps burned late in their offices
after night, men who helped shape
our foreign policy at Tammerton
Clark and Nathan Woods, Friedman
and Alan Brundage, men with faith
that America and Americans could
help build the better world.

Incredulously, step by step, the
enemies of our civil liberties have
advanced behind the poisonous
smoke-screen of the "Communist
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of the Executive Board of the Joint
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Committee to Investigate un-
American Activities and its state
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The passage of the Taft-Hartley
Law which was designed to destroy
organized American labor;

The indictment of Harold Chris-
toffel;

Deportation proceedings against
Michael J. Obermeier of the Hotel
and Club Employees Union, A.F.L.;
John Santo, former director of
Organization of the Transport
Workers Union, C.I.O.; and more
than one hundred other active
unionists and progressives;

The issuance of the Loyalty
Order;

The dismissal of scores of Fed-
eral employees, mainly Negroes and
Jews, without just cause;

The promulgation of a new
State Department "Code of Se-
curity Principles" which is even
more drastic than the Loyalty
Order;

The attempted intimidation of
unfriendly writers;

the action which prevented

teaching and studying in uni-
versities;

The action of Columbia University,
City College of New York,
Brooklyn College, and Hunter Col-
lege, in banning Howard Fast, a
leading American writer, from
speaking on the campus;

George Washington University's
denial of a charter to the Amer-
ican Veterans Committee, and the
refusal of Hunter, Queens, and
other colleges, to charter chapters
of the Young Progressive Citizens
of America;

The Attorney General's ex parte
issuance of a list of organizations
which he characterized as "subver-
sive";

The attempts to pass the Mundt
Bill;

The increasing terror against
Negro Americans and the emer-
gence of the Dixiecrats — a white
supremacy movement;

The trial of doctrine, rather than
acts, in the case of the Communist
leaders;

The Denver and Los Angeles
jail-by-subpoena technique;

The passage of a Displaced Per-
sons law which discriminates
against victims of fascism, and ad-
mits "reconstructed" Nazis;

The attempt to bar books by
such authors as Arthur Miller,
Laura Hobson, Charles Darwin,
Thomas Paine, Louis Adamic, Stu-
art Chase, Arthur Garfield Hayes,
Charles A. Beard, Oliver LaFarge,
and many others, from library
shelves;

The Army's decision to ban the
showing in America of an official
U. S. Military Government film
on the crimes of German fascism.

I can add to this list almost in-
definitely. I can tell you of states
which have proposed their own
loyalty checks to add local insult
to national injury.

I can tell you how the University

faculty for 15 to 20 years, for hold-
ing unorthodox political views
could describe in detail the es-
of Cecil Blackman, a Negro pub-
clerk who faced continual haras-
when he served for two years
a crew member of the U.S. Ship
T. Washington, he joined the U.S.
American Communitarian Asso-
ciation. Membership in the As-
sociation was mandatory for his
job during the war when Black-
man served in the merchant
marine and risked his life in our
country's service.

I can tell you of another Post
Office employee who may lose his
job because his mother signed a
petition to place a Socialist candi-
date on the ballot in New Haven,
Connecticut. She signed that peti-
tion 17 years ago.

I can supplement this list with
headlines which have become all
too commonplace:

**NEW DRIVE TO LEGALIZE WIRE
TAPPING RECALLS CONDEMNATION
BY BRANDEIS**

**DETROIT ASKS NON-RED
PLEDGE FROM REPORTERS**

**SPY COMMITTEE TO ASK FOR
NEW \$200,000 FUND**

**U. S. STEEL PLANS TO SPLIT
STOCK THREE FOR ONE,
VOTES ONE DOLLAR EXTRA
DIVIDEND**

**SIX-MONTH TRIAL IS ASKED
FOR SIX-DAY WORK WEEK**

**PASSIVE NAZIS DECLARED
ELIGIBLE FOR QUOTA VISAS**

**KRUPP COULD MAKE TANKS
IN THREE MONTHS**

Tomorrow: Conclusion

A Plea for Return to the Constitution

As in the concluding installment of O. John Boggs' book "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties," and in *Civil Liberties*, which was serialized in *THE COMPASS*.

By O. JOHN BOGGS

In the international scene John Foster Dulles, Dean's Man Friday in foreign affairs, and now a confidential foreign policy adviser, reaches complete agreement with Charles De Gaulle, who has demanded the abolition of the trade unions in France.

Proposed: "Trade in our right to live."

The Guard prisoners have been freed entirely;

4. March 1948: Frans van Puyven, Dutch Cominco managing director, to attend two weeks in the U.S.A. by air;

Collusion group: Bialas and his "U.S. financial men" are still as "financial men" for them, as he did for us;

Occupation tacitly accepted;

The January 1948 of J. G. Peters to

that old cartel agreements

General Electric

and Standard Oil

official return Rubicon

to Germany; and

remove industrial

and expand our exports

with Europe American

makers are a new lever

around to support of

Germany's Social Demo-

cratic

Government;

France to suffer some of the

most brutal of Nazi

methods to expand our

exports to the greatest

degree;

either in evidence this last

or incomplete, but solid

the policies of the policies

of our enemies.

French government of our foreign

soldier, a policy which also op-

erates behind the anti-Com-

unist smokescreen. What is

true, "What can we do?" is

American Justice E. B. Saypol a

sentence on one of the most war

criminals in history that:

"France would be imposed on our

guilt only of the tools of a war."

The France that reaches us

bring trade union leaders to trial

is a France those walls bear com-

mencorative signs reading:

"Jean Grandel, Secretary of the

Chemical Workers Union, died in

prison, October 6, 1948."

"René Charrat, Secretary of the

Railroad Workers Union, executed

by collaborationists, January 8,

1944."

"François Dumas, Treasurer of

the Textile Workers Union, also

executed by the German Nazis

6, 1944."

* * *

The world has not forgotten

four million know in dis-

grace. The road of our anti-

Bolshevik supporters, and they too

at right, remember to honor

the anti-Bolshevik camp, a of

the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis and

its neighbors since it the fu-

lure of Buchenwald and Belzen.

An America which becomes the

tormentor of Europe and falls to

our labor Jason will find no

European ally worth having.

The European remembers how

in 1932, German workers introduc-

ed the concept of the "Techni-

on," the great blower "Air & O."

The same European today bears

American monopoly domination

about the "Western World" as echo

Council's cap about Anglo-Saxon

superiority.

The European remembers the

road of work conquered with

which Germany's leaders targeted

to people. Today you with Euro-

pean roads of the "American econ-

omy," and is that plural be esca-

be the cry of "German Blood-

bone" sent to the best half.

The European remembers how

Germany invaded Poland after its

under the pretext of protect-

for German minorities. The same

European observes American mil-

itary, equipment, and

troops to Greece, Turkey, and

China where they practice "west-

ern democracy" in the person of

the Greek king, his Nazi hit, the

dictator of Turkey, and the sur-

survivors to Chang Kai-shek's cor-

rupt Feudal regime. The European

who still thinks from the heat

of the German book-burnings

wishes American officials put

books on trial.

The European who recalls Hitler's

persecution of labor and

minority organizations, reads Leo

Attorney General "Injustice"

with the deepest sympathy.

The European cannot forget the

German boast of a secret labor

—bar the American monopolists

house of exclusive possession of

the atom bomb.

In April May, and June of 1948

I was conducting an investigation

in Germany. I spoke to professors,

businessmen, manufacturers, pro-

letary, industrial workers, clerical

housewives, housewives, some were

not large, some were to assault. Of

all these, only two admitted to

ever having been a Nazi. One of

these was Hermann Goering.

The other was Paul Schaefer, head

of the press department of the

German Foreign Office. While I

was there, all the Germans who

thought they had found a sym-

pathetic ear, warned me to beware

of Communism!

I would quote any evidence to

come from other sources. I can

doubtless adduce of these evi-

dences what I hear them from the

mouth of Americans who have

long records of appealing and re-

tarding justice. I am not talking

of the past alone. These evi-

dences can speak for the time that

they have "learned their lesson,"

that government was a great fail-

ure, and therefore — ridiculous

conclusion — they will use "so-

ciety" names!

The men who opposed freedom

yesterday are opposing freedom

today — in Europe, and at home.

I have returned from a second

private trip to Europe. From the

European point of view, the only

thing that is not possible today is

war. I have seen the Economic

Commission for Europe, an organ

of the United Nations, at work

without fanfare or the publici-

ty which accompanies the Marshall

Plan. This body promotes trade

and peaceful relations among all

of Europe. It has sent machinery

from the west to the east, en-

abling the east to develop its own

resources and to export its ex-

ported raw materials to the west.

British businessmen, anxious

over our European mi-

litary bases, are

now in Europe, and

are working to establish

new bases in Europe.

They are not only that America re-

turns to the simple orthodoxy of the

Pounding Pattern, and the clear

language of the Bill of Rights. I

call it the Constitution of Our United

States.

You worked in freedom's struggle

and a series of freedom. I cannot

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Our Vanishing Civil Liberties

(Continued from Page 6)

remember that by fighting for the freedoms in which we were born, we will give those freedoms to while our children will be born.

History will make its own judgment without regard to our generation, and history will assign the proper places to those who would deprive us of our liberties.

Because Socrates taught the youth of Athens to know themselves, his enemies charged him with corruption and condemned him to drink the hemlock. We remember Socrates. We remember that Plato said of him, "He was the wisest and justest and best." But who can tell us the names of those who condemned Socrates?

Because Jesus brought a philosophy of peace and brotherhood to a turbulent world he too, was sentenced to death. Can you name the men who nailed him to the Cross?

After Jesus came the birthplace of the Constitution in AD 304 the Christians in the Time since complained

"There is no rule; neither is there the Christians. If the Tiber rises as high as the eye can see, if the Nile does not send its water over the fields, if there is an earthquake, if there is famine or pestilence, run away the eye is away with the Christians to the lions!"

Then I paraphrase this for our day when the Grand Jury and the Loyalty Board have replaced the Lions:

You know the names of martyrs of John Brown and Bruno, of Worcester and Joan of Arc. Tell me, then, who sentenced them to be burned at the stake?

By what ruler did his wife call the execution? A. J. C. organized Galileo under the threat of torture and extracted a compromised recantation?

Name me ten other Americans who drove slaves William and Anne Hutchinson from Massachusetts. Dealer set them also burned down John Brown.

At Gettysburg, murderer Abraham Lincoln uttered the words of Lincoln, you are already soldiers that conquer with a soldier's valor who have the same last name. We know that the soldiers the eight-thousand day to天涯海角, but we have forgotten the men who sat in judgment.

For honor, law is synonymous with reward for those who obey human laws and deny all human rights. Presidents will reward the same criminals for their machinations and they aspire to persecution so brutal, so widespread, that we link them with such farce as "Burrardines and Killers."

Perhaps the horrors of my book are not of the nature of those horrors of history, war and death or persecution. For let us reflect how much of our modesty and freedom has been purchased with the liberty of slaves and women. Who took their convictions with them to the gallows and who became the gallows.

I know that the possible number of historians will be small the size of the monopolies whose members, internally demand a gas to pour through their noses. I ask you and all Americans who are not afraid of disclosure and who are willing to defend their beliefs in a free and open court of inquiry, not to send the judgment of history.

Let us make our own statement as follows to the Bill of Rights in the 14th Amendment, we declare that our America is an American without conservatives to intimidate, without Loyalty Boards and Loyalty Oaths, without trials of existence, without political hypocrites and self-by-substantiation, without pull-or-association, without officially sponsored grand juries and attorney general who decides what shall and shall not be acceptable in politics thought.

We millions who want a free labor movement, equality for the Negro people, peace, and hold several governments, here you stand.

Vanishing Civil Liberties

(Continued from Page 6)

guilty in this case, American courts seldom demand six lives for one!

In my opinion the sentence itself was sufficient grounds for a reversal of the decision. The jury had brought in an unqualified verdict of "Guilty," without naming the degree. But the judge, when sentencing the men, reported the finding of the jury as "Guilty, in the manner and form as they stand charged in the indictment and are guilty of murder in the first degree." After passing sentence on the basis of his own report of the jury findings, the judge then had the record amended to state correctly that the jury had found simply "Guilty." Law requires that a jury's verdict in a murder trial include the degree.

I believe that nothing better exposes the conduct of this trial than the methods of State Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe. I will give you three quotations from Mr. Volpe's arguments. Quotation Number One:

"All through this trial I have heard that these men have slept on boards while they were being interrogated — their friends and family were not invited. Now, ladies and gentlemen, is it to be presumed in the course of law enforcement when we have a prisoner charged with murder, that we get them reservations at the Hotel Stacy-Trent, or Hildebrecht's? Is it reasonable to suppose we are going to send out invitations to the family and friends to join the party? That is the common practice, a practice I have nothing to do with. They have no right to go afoul of the law; and when they do, they have a right to sleep on boards without complaint. . . ."

Forget his rather callous sarcasm. (I do not believe that even the guilty should sleep on boards in prison.) But as a public prosecutor, Mr. Volpe might have remembered that the men in his charge had not been adjudged guilty. They were awaiting trial. And he might also have remembered, as an agent in the administration of American justice, that those awaiting trial are presumed innocent, and not guilty, until otherwise proved. To remark that "friends and family were not invited" is the neatest description of the term "held incommunicado" that I have ever come across.

Defense attorneys asked Mr. Volpe to obtain from the police department the finger print records from the room in which Mr. Horner met his death, and from the murder weapon, a bottle. Mr. Volpe refused. His reason? Quotation Number Two:

"And my only reason for objecting at that time, if you remember the reasons, ladies and gentlemen, was that a Prosecutor of a County, a law-enforcement agent, avails himself of the services of other State departments to help solve a crime. If those records are made public, where would the administration of the law be? Well, of necessity, I had to preserve that right. But immediately thereafter, ladies and gentlemen, I said to defense counsel, having been sustained by the Court: Now you can

a ruling would have on the law enforcement agencies of this State if anyone could go to the police or to any other enforcement agency, the Prosecutor's office, and say: Let me have the evidence that you have against this man before you present it to the jury, so the defense can build a case around the evidence obtained by the State."

To be very blunt, this statement reveals Mr. Volpe's complete failure to understand the duties of a public prosecutor. His job is not only to convict. His job is also to shield the innocent. Yet in a case in which the lives of six men are at stake, he blandly remarks that he will not show evidence to the defense because it might help the defendants! A public prosecutor is violating the canons of his office if he does not aid the defense with every legitimate bit of evidence available! The defense attorneys in the case were not "anyone." They were men who were fighting for the lives of six fellow citizens!

The men to whom Mr. Volpe refers in the following Quotation Number Three are police officials:

"No, the defense — the defense has made one issue in this case, and that is: the Police Department versus these individuals. They have tried to discredit an honorable Police Department. They, in their attempt to justify this crime, because they can't explain it, they have attempted to revile honorable men, who have given their lives to police work. Men like Captain Delete. Yes, are you going to believe him, or are you going to believe these men? Are you going to believe men like Chief Naples, or believe these men?"

"Are you going to believe men like Lawton, or are you going to believe these men?"

Every time Mr. Volpe left the Honorable Police Department (and their Honorable Third Degree) to say "these men," he spoke with scorn as he indicated the Negro defendants. Mr. Volpe also referred to a Jewish defense witness as "rather comical."

In discussing the history of a defendant, Mr. Volpe referred to it as a "pedigree," as though he were describing an animal.

New Jersey laws permit a State Prosecutor to carry on an outside practice. Mr. Volpe avails himself of this privilege. Recently four employees of the Veterans Administration, two of whom are Negro and two white, attempted to enter a Trenton night club, the Casa Lido. The two Negroes were denied admission. They sued the management.

Representing the management of the Casa Lido, in its attempt to sanctify Jim-Crow, was an attorney named Mario H. Volpe!

SUNDAY: A Lawyer Must Speak Out!

SCOTTSBORO GOOSE'EE M.J.: The Trenton 6

By O. JOHN ROGGE

On Friday, Jan. 28, 1949, the Trenton Evening News published the following editorial:

A SCOTTSBORO CASE?

If it is the desire of O. John Rogge, former Assistant United States Attorney General, to inspire frustration! appeal, regardless of means, there may be some reason for his repeated reference to the conviction of six Trenton men on a murder charge as 'the Southern Scottsboro case.' Those who are familiar with the history of the trial, however, will find no basis for such an analogy.

The men were convicted after longest murder trial in the history of New Jersey, 45 days. The bill to the taxpayers of Mercer County was \$13,723.59. Included

in the expenses of a large, experienced and competent defense were the interests of the men safeguarded scrupulously and an appeal is now pending in the Supreme Court.

The implications of the Scottsboro characterization are an affidavit at the trial court, whose conduct of the trial was meticulously fair. It is significant that it comes from a political figure outside the state and is not echoed from responsible quarter within the county.

It is true that Trenton lies south of my office, but even in my role as a political figure outside the state, I never dreamed that I could be considered a damnyankee New Jersey. I do not choose to discuss this, and other painfully simple assertions in the editorial. I will pass without comment the editorial's blunt assertion that Mercer County, having spent \$12,723.59, or \$7,287.26 per man, is not entitled to the lives of its Negroes.

I want to leave it to the judgment of every American whose ear can register to decide whether or not the case of the Trenton Six is a northern Scottsboro.

The six Negroes who today sit in a Jersey jail chamber are Ralph Cooper, Collie English, McKinley Foster, John McKenzie, James H. Thorpe, and Horace Wilson. The State courted them of a murder which they do not believe they committed. They presented three of these to the Supreme Court of New Jersey, became the record of their trial. Like the record of the record of an unavoidable miscarriage of justice.

This is an installment of O. John Rogge's book "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties," published by Gaer Associates, which is being serialized unabridged in THE COMPASS. Mr. Rogge has brought his book up to date, where necessary, with postscript.

(Ed. Note: The verdict was overthrown on appeal and the six now are awaiting a new trial.)

On Jan. 27, 1948, some person or persons unknown attacked William Horner, an elderly Trenton second-hand furniture dealer, and the woman with whom he lived. (I shall refer to her as Mrs. Horner although Horner never divorced his legal wife from whom he was separated.) Horner died in the hospital without regaining consciousness. His wife's injuries were mild.

Mrs. Horner told the police and reporters that three men were in the store. She described them as white, or light-complexioned Negroes. A second eyewitness, Frank Eldracher, a Trenton cigar salesman, declared that he saw two light-skinned, teen-age Negroes leave the store. A second eyewitness, Mrs. Virginia Barclay, saw the get-away car, a green, four-door sedan.

Let us stop right here. Six men sit in jail. Not three. Not two. Of the six, all except James Thorpe are dark Negroes. Thorpe is light-skinned—but he has only one arm, and no eyewitnesses saw a one-armed man at the scene!

On the basis of the stories which Mrs. Horner and Mr. Eldracher told, the Public Safety Director immediately organized a special 13-man motorized squad, armed with Tommy guns, which terrorized the Negro section of Trenton.

"Terrorized" is the only word to describe what happened. The Trenton police had been under fire for negligence. A New Jersey newspaper had published the barbaric editorial complaint that the State's electric chair had been unoccupied since 1915. The police were apparently anxious to demonstrate their efficiency. They arrested Negroes en masse, curfew. The records constitute

without warrant, of course.

On Feb. 23 the police announced that five of the six men had signed "confessions." The confessions mean little, however, when you consider that the police arrested these six men without warrant, held them incommunicado, and questioned them for as long as four days without bringing them before a committing magistrate. (In the Upshaw case, decided in December, 1948, the Supreme Court held it "unreasonable" to detain a man for 30 hours without bringing him before a committing magistrate.)

The record convinces me that the police extorted these confessions which came after four sleepless days and nights, the use of force, relentless grilling, and threats.

Police assumed that robbery was the motive for the murder of William Horner—yet they recovered more than \$1,570 in cash from the pockets of the deceased.

Another curious circumstance surrounds this case, and still more curious is the silence of New Jersey authorities on this matter. I refer to a man named Jerry Griswold who slept on a cot in the front of William Horner's store. Two days before the murder, Griswold had a quarrel with the Horners. Then he disappeared. Only recently I learned that following the murder, the Trenton police picked up Griswold in Asbury Park, brought him back to Trenton, and kept him in police custody for the duration of the trial of the six.

Does the efficient and impartial Trenton police force know where Jerry Griswold is today?

This is a bare outline of the events leading up to the trial. The trial itself began in June, 1948, in

pure Jim-Crow fashion when State's Attorney excluded all Negroes from the jury.

At the trial, Mrs. Horner identified the defendants. I consider her testimony highly suspect. When the police had confronted her with the defendants before trial, she could not identify one of them. Yet months later she claimed to recognize all.

Under cross-examination admitted that Mario H. Volpe, State Prosecutor for Mercer County, had rechristened her memory. He had picked a peculiar time in which to do this. Mr. Volpe, ostensibly a public servant sent to administer justice and protect the citizenry, showed Mrs. Horner twenty, not ten photographs from which to select the six.

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other than the
subject off No.
day.

Mr. Horner identified, I consider
highly suspect,
had confronted
defendants before the
not sufficiently any
et montis later
crossfire all six
examination she
Auto H. Volpe, the
prior to: Meier
wished it mem-
of a peculiar way
this. Mr. Volpe,
"a certain sworn
and protect
and Mr. Horner
ten phot graphs.
fact the six she

in this connection. It was no
claim. He showed her exactly six
photos, no more, no less.

During the trial the defendants
offered alibis which the testimony
of many reputable citizens cor-
roborated. For example, Horace
Wilson's employer produced a
work-sheet showing that at the
time of the murder Wilson could
not have been at the scene.

The prosecution exposed the
jury which brought in the "Guilty"
verdict, to endless appeals to
prejudice. Yet the jurors were not
comfortable with their decision.
One woman juror fainted. A
second collapsed and required
medical aid after the foreman an-
nounced the verdict. The Trenton
Times commented that the verdict
"seemed to have stunned the en-
tire city." The judge handed down
the largest mass death sentence in
the State history. Let me point out
that even were the defendants

(Continued on Page 20)

Director, FBI

December 27, 1949

SAC, New York

WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE -

PARIS

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

- b7D

Confidential informant [REDACTED] on December 6, 1949 furnished a supplement to the publication "New Times" dated Nov 4, 1949 and captioned "World Congress for Peace; Paris - Prague; April 23-25, 1949." The text is a report on the World Peace Congress and sets out speeches of various participants. The speech of C. JAMES ROGERS is included. Members of the permanent Committee of the Congress are listed and those from the United States are identified.

C. JOHN BOOGES (lawyer)
PROFESSOR K. DU BOIS (historian)
ALBERT KAHN (journalist)
BISHOP A. E. DOWD
PAUL ROBESON (singer)
H. WARD FAST (writer)
DONALD HENDERSON (trade union leader)
DR. OSCAR WELTNER (Professor of Columbia University)

One photostatic copy is enclosed for the Bureau's information.

Doc. 1

CC: 100-52659 (Rogers)
100-26789 (DuBois)
100-61236 (Fast)
100-25857 (Robeson)
100-12356 (Henderson)
100-13017 (Kahn)
100-64734 (Weltner)

JAC/DR
100-95459-39

New York, N. Y.

January 3, 1950

MEMO:

RE: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS,
SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b7D

By attached report dated 10-30-49 Confidential [redacted] advised of a mass meeting protesting the conviction and confinement of the 11 CP leaders which was held on 10-27-49 at the St. Nicholas Arena, NYC. The importance of the fighting for the reversal of the decision was the main theme of the speakers. Some of the speakers were HOWARD FAST, GEORGE CORCKETT and HARRY SACHER. The Bureau has been advised by letter of this report.

The following leaflets were made available by the informant on 10-31-49 obtained from the above mentioned meeting:

1. A text of the statement made at this meeting by KILLEEN BRAND.
2. A text of the statement made at this meeting by ROBERT M. COATES.
3. A text of the statement made at this meeting by PETER ELME.
4. A petition to the HONORABLE HOWARD McGrATE, Attorney General of the U.S., entitled "Resolution on Bail"
5. A Western Union telegram addressed to the meeting requesting the individuals' name be added to the petition "Resolution on Bail."
6. A leaflet entitled "Film Sense", Vol 1 #2, issued by the NCASP.
7. A pamphlet entitled "Peace on Earth" containing various speeches given by Rev. CLARENCE DUFFY.

The above leaflets have been submitted as exhibits in file 100-93553.

CHARLES V. REEDER
Special Agent

Enclosure (2)
CC: 67-2557 (PM)
100-95459 (C. John Boggs)
100-81206 (Howard Fast)
100-90979 (Rev. John Darr)
100-47672 (Harry Sacher)
100-8175 (CPUSA - Brief)

CFReed
100-93553

100-95459-45

FBI - NEW YORK
JAN 3 1949
Refiled 1/11/50
Info

NEW YORK COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES
AND PROFESSIONS ACTIVITIES

Oct 30, 1949
New York

REPORT

RE: PROTEST MEETING AGAINST THE JAILING OF THE 11 COMMUNIST LEADERS.

A mass meeting to protest the conviction and the jailing of the 11 Communist leaders was held on October 27th, 1949, at the St. Nicholas Arena in New York.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Some 1,500 people attended this meeting. The crowd consisted mostly of the "progressive intellectuals," Communists and left-wing labor leaders.

The meeting was opened by SAM WANAHEK, actor who said: "the case is not closed. The conviction in Foley Sq. can be reversed if we united and fight against it." He introduced the chairman of the meeting. The name of the chairman sounded like BOYER. (the loud speakers sounded badly during the entire evening.) The chairman declared that "we came here tonight to defend our rights, the rights of the American people to think as we please and to write as we feel. If we will let the Foley Square convictions stand - America lost its liberty."

JOHN ROGGE started that he doesn't know if Attorney General McGrath will allow to free the 11 Communist leaders on bail, "but this is not the main issue." He underlined that the issue in this fight is much bigger. "We must fight for the reversal of the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders because this conviction is Fascistic in fact. We are fighting against fascism. We will have to build here, in this country, a united political front, including the communists, in the fight against fascism."

DR. DU BOIS stated that "the trial and the conviction on Foley Square is thought control carried through to the highest degree. The 11 Communists leaders were convicted not for acts against the government but for beliefs. Our government, it seems to me, is out to stop the world from thinking."

ARTHUR MILLER sent in a statement read to the audience in which he states that "an idea was convicted in Foley Square."

A statement of ROBERT W. COATES underlines that he "is out of sympathy with a good deal of Communist doctrine and practice. As a political and social theory Communism is part of the world, etc. (text of statement enclosed.)

PETER BLAY, artist, declared in his statement that "the trial, conviction and sentencing of the 11 Communist leaders is of such dreadful significance...etc. (statement enclosed).

MILLEN BRAND, novelist and screen writer declared in his statement that "the prosecution and conviction of the leadership of a political party, along with their lawyers, is a dangerous blow to the theory and practice of American Democracy...etc. (text of statement enclosed).

HOWARD FAST said that the organizers of this meeting allowed each speaker to say only a few words to give a chance to the many speakers tonight to say something. I will therefore say a few more words without looking into my written speech. I see here tonight many important people and this is very significant. I just want to underline that the Policy Square connections were instigated by the Truman-McGrath-Medina combination. The American people must fight against these convictions of the 11 Communists just as they fought against the Peekskill fascists. The Communists were the ones that fought and died and are still fighting and dying for the cause of mankind. In the struggles of the Communist parties is enshrined the future of mankind. We must insist on the right of the American people to free speech.

E. Y. HARBURG, song writer declared that there is a new philosophic conception in this country - I think, therefore I am in prison. Our Sherlock Holmes Hoover also thinks a man with a typewriter is as dangerous as a gangster with a gun - down with typewriters. It came to a point that even the A.A.P. (chain stores) cries: We have nothing to loose but our chains. never mind the clowning this is serious business. A group of Americans are creating fear and that's why the 11 Communists are in jail. We must fight against this group. The Communists leaders must be free.

CLIFORD ODETS declared that the C.P. is dedicated to a belief. It is a minority political party and has the right to exist and to teach its philosophy. Millions of all colors and creeds believe together with the Communists. They declare their right as a political party. I know the Communists are rude and difficult for the ruling group. They are making inroads into the American way of life. Because of this they had to be put away. So they are in prison. We must demand their freedom. They are good Americans and they are entitled to their beliefs.

FATHER CLARENCE DUPPY, a Catholic priest stated that he is a Catholic priest, of a Catholic church. "I'm not a Communist, but I recognize the right of others to believe in Communism. The Communists leaders weren't tried and convicted because of their use of force or violence, but because of political opinions which are at present unpopular." As a priest who believes

"In freedom for all, I protest against the declaration of "guilty" and against the manner in which they were convicted. I solemnly protest the injustice done to my brothers Communists."

REV. JOEL DARP stated that he is "proud to follow Father CLARENCE DUPPY." I know what this speech will mean to him. I also have a great stake in the Foley Square trial and convictions. Foley Square violated my rights as a citizen. I'm not ready to give up my freedom for the cold war. Foley Square created Peekskill and in Peekskill they were out to kill. In Peekskill we fought for peace and democracy. We were organized in Peekskill and we won there a tremendous peoples victory. As long as we have peoples organizations we aren't afraid of the Foley Squares. He made an appeal for funds "to carry on the work against Peekskill and Foley Square." The collection brought in about \$1,500.

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, of the "Hollywood 10" declared that "some 2 years ago we (The "Hollywood 10") warned the American people that a conspiracy is being prepared against their freedom. In Foley Square we witnessed the same same police officers and stoolpigeons we saw in Washington at the so called trial of the Hollywood 10. We saw then the danger of the thought control system being prepared for the American people. A shocking and irresponsible act took place in Foley Square. They are out to outlaw a philosophy, a thought. Against this we must fight with everything we have." LAWSON asked the people to read Dalton Trumbo's pamphlet "The time of the hood." He quoted from this pamphlet some passages from Emile Zola's article under the same name. He continued: "The issue in Foley Square is not only free speech; the actual issue is peace or war. True patriotism is to protect the country from the men in Washington and Wall Street who are out to rule the world. It is the duty of men of culture to fight against the conspiracy to destroy the freedom of the American people. The faith of our nation depends on this fight." In another part of his speech LAWSON underlined that for 10 years he followed "the literature of the Soviet Union and of peoples democracies (The "real democracies") of other countries and "I can assure you that they have great respect for the American tradition in literature and in arts." The war policy of this country is a destructive policy; we must fight against this policy. In fighting against this policy we are defending the future of our children and children's children. The forces of progress and peace here and in the world can win the fight for peace. The American people must be aroused to the danger of Foley Square."

GEORGE CROCKET, one of the lawyers for the 11 Communists, said that "Foley Square can and must be reversed. The march towards fascism has been and must be stopped." He called for a "moral crusade" against the Foley Square conviction and he underlined that "the American people stand ready to join in such a crusade. This meeting is a glorious reminder of our fight for freedom. We negroes declare that we will work for the reversal of the Foley Square convictions. We declared that the Communists also have rights."

PORTEL said that "the conviction of the 11 leaders of Communist Party left in me a feeling as though I was convicted and I don't intend to remain convicted. I know I'm innocent, let's go to work. First thing to do is to pass the following resolution." Reads resolution to Attorney General Howard McGrath. (Text of "resolution on bail" enclosed.)

HARRY SACKER, Attorney for the defense of the 11 Communists, told the meeting about the visit of 4 wives of the convicted Communists to the Attorney General. "For an hour he listened to the four women pleading the cause not only of their husbands, but of all American people. There is one thing I want to impress upon you: if they (the 11) are not free you could kiss your constitution good-by." He spoke about the sentencing of the lawyers of the defense: "I want to tell that everyone of us wouldn't mind to go to jail if this would serve to cause of liberty for our country and peace of the world." The question of bail in this case is decisive to the freedom of the American people. This question is more important to the people than to the 11 leaders of the Communist party. Have we reached the stage when people could be put in prison for writing books. The freedom of the 11 is wrapped up in the freedom of all the American people. The attorney General did not commit himself. His answer to the pleading wives was: you'll find out about it when the case comes up in court. It's up to you, the people to give the answer." He concluded his speech with: "the Communist party and the Communists are the spokesman and champions of the rights and of the freedom of the American people."

While the meeting was going on others were circulating the "In Defense of Dignity" printed on a Western Union form (sample enclosed). Each one signing this form had to return it with one dollar. I saw many people signing it.

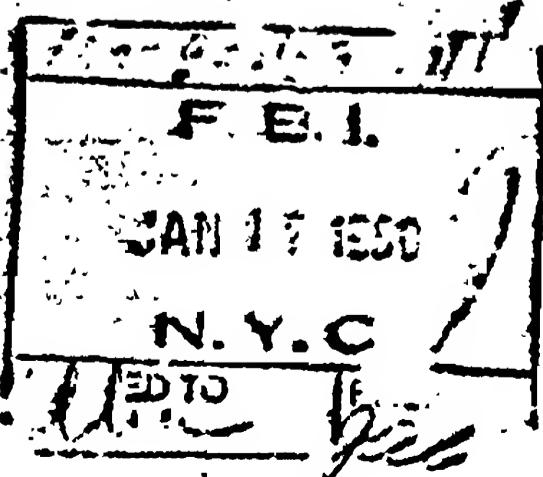
Rogge Is Barred Again From 'Trenton Six' Trial

Sent to The New York Times.

TRENTON, Jan. 18—O. John Rogge and two New York associates were blocked today in a move to return as counsel for defendants in the "Trenton six" murder case. They had been ousted as counsel for three of the six Negro defendants by Mercer County Judge Charles P. Hutchinson for alleged "disorderly and contempt" of court.

Through another associate, Solomon Golat of Newark, who was not removed, the three lawyers applied today for assignment to represent two others of the defendants, Horace Wilson and John McKenzie, but Judge Hutchinson declined to hear the application.

The six men were convicted in August, 1948, of a hold-up slaying of William Horner, 72 years old, a Trenton shopkeeper. Death sentences were decreed by a jury, but the State Supreme Court returned the case for a new trial. The new trial before J. E. Hutchinson is scheduled for Feb. 6.



100-95459-4

THE HISTORICAL AND LITERARY

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JAN 1 1 1950

'Russian Aims Irreconcilable With Ideals of Our Democracy'

By JUDGE CHARLES SOLOMON

Why is it we are not getting along with Soviet Russia? Why should there be a cold war? The answer to these questions can be given in a single word—Communism. Unless we understand Communism we shall never understand the basic reasons for the strata's raging throughout the world today which seems to have the world uttering on the brink of war.

Between our way of life and what Communism stands for there is a deep and irreconcilable divergence. The literature of Bolshevism is available to all, bluntly stated, in the writings of the high priests from Lenin down through Stalin. We can be thankful that the American people, more particularly our officialdom, have finally taken to these sources for information in dealing with Communist Russia. The result has been belated disillusionment, and awakening to the fact, which explains such developments as the Truman Doctrine,

the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact. Bolshevism represents a fundamental break with, and repudiation of, the way of life of the democratic world—its ethics,

more, methodology. What we regard as decent, honorable, fair—these are rejected by Communism as just so many bourgeois prejudices and superstitions. This primary Bolshevik postulate is rigidly adhered to regardless of where real Communists and themselves—in a labor union, a government office, or in the United Nations.

In the recent debate in the U.N. General Assembly's Political and Security Committee, Vishinsky said he believed that capitalism and Communism could find common ground. He must have known that both Lenin and Stalin had repeatedly and dogmatically declared the contrary, that as far back as the famous 21 points, formulated in 1920 by the Third International as prerequisites for the acceptance of member parties, it was laid down: "Without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no kind of international court of arbitration . . . will be able to prevent such impeded work."

SOLOMON



History and Present Events Prove Agreement Is Possible

By O. JOHN ROGGE

Some weeks ago Judge Solomon and John Rogge engaged in debate on today's question before The Group in New York City. On that occasion suitable manuscripts were not available for use on this page, so we asked both participants to prepare these special summaries of their respective points of view.

It is something less than fair to expect anyone to reduce a subject with as many ramifications as our relations with Russia to such short compass. Past history, relations during World War II, including the conferences at Potsdam, Yalta, Tehran, the development of the cold war, the implementation of the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and countless other phases would have to be evaluated in detail to complete the picture. Commentary might easily run to a score of volumes. In preparing his brief introduction to the tenets of Communism, for instance, Judge Solomon produced a manuscript of several thousand words.

These two arguments do, nonetheless, succeed in reflecting the basic differences between the two schools of thought in regard to Russia, although much supporting evidence and many qualifications have gone by the board. Solomon quotes verbatim from Communist theory to prove the necessity for the cold war. Rogge presents the areas of agreement which now exist between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., despite the earnest efforts of many of our policy makers to bring us to the breaking point. It would seem that understanding with Russia is possible if and that it is proven by these two points: (1) we are not at war with Russia, (2) Russia does co-operate in many instances within the U.N.

Neither our way of life nor the Russian has yet reached perfection, but as long as both economies remain reasonably stable and trade can expand between both spheres, there is every reason to suppose that a firm understanding can develop—always provided commonsense rather than hysteria governs the relationship. Political theory and international behavior are

An affirmative answer to the question "Is an Understanding with Russia Impossible?" amounts to a declaration of war. No matter how vehemently those who give such an answer may aver that an armed conflict is not inevitable, they are dooming mankind to an ignoble race and war. Human beings not infrequently express a desire to go to war in a certain way while headed in the opposite direction.

I have wondered how those who give an affirmative answer would feel if the rest of us suddenly agreed with them and said, "Well and good, let's have war." Would it give them any pause?

I for one refuse to be bound by any such easy declaration of war. I want to find out first whether it is justified.

I have grown weary, and I am sure many others have grown weary too, of all the denunciations and counter-denunciations, and of all the name-calling—on both sides. Let us look first to see if there are any areas of agreement.

That there are any such areas may surprise a number of us for we lead and hear so much about differences, but they do exist.

To begin with, the U.S. and Russia (if we except the fact that we sent troops to Russia in 1919 to try to stop the Revolution) have always lived at peace with each other. For a starter, this is a good area of agreement by itself.

Not only have we always been at peace, but during two World Wars we have been allies. If we can manage to remain allies there will not be another war.

During the second World War we had many satisfactory agreements with the Russians. Indeed, Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board in reporting on Nov. 8, 1943, on his trip to Russia, stated: "I have come back from my journey with a high faith in the future of Russia, and in the benefit which that future will bring to the entire world, including ourselves. So far as I can see, ours is a theory to win and we have put this into practice as we shall have

power to bear except suspicion of each other."

Not only have we always been friends and allies, but during the course of the current cold war we have ratified 1600 international agreements, to time the same resolutions in the United Nations. Again, this may surprise some, for the press and radio reflect different rather than agreement, but nevertheless it is so.

Just recent examples of the U.S. and the Soviet Union concluding side by side on resolutions in the United Nations occurred with reference to non-self-governing territories. These territories cover about one-quarter of the earth's surface and have a population of close to 200,000,000 people.



leadership, finally took the bulk of the CIO. President Bill Murray declared that the Communists in the CIO, especially those in positions of leadership, were bossed by the Communist party. That they were "out to destroy the CIO, the American labor movement, our government and our way of life."

A few years ago, several thousand persons were admitted to membership in the Communist party right here in the City of New York, an which occasion Earl Browder, the then secretary of the party, administered an oath which I quote: "I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States." And if you are in doubt as to what the "triumph of Soviet power in the United States" would mean, just take a look at Soviet Russia or any of its satellites. These are the kinds of the so-called "new democracy."

To the Communist, all non-Communist governments exist only to be overthrown, and it is fundamental of Leninism that the change from what is, to what they propose shall be, can be accomplished by resort to violence.

Said Lenin on another occasion: "In our own opinion, morality is entirely subordinate to the class war. Everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting order. . ." Try to see the implications of this.

"The revolutionary," says Stalin, "will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in continuing legal work with illegal work, to intensity under its cover the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." Communists the world over are essentially the same. To the true Bolshevik there can be no "true" exclusive loyalty. It is loyalty to Communist Russia, which every true Bolshevik is pledged to defend, regardless. Real agreement with Russia is not possible in the sense that we have agreement and understanding with, say, France, Britain, Australia. We can and must

have understanding of Soviet Russia, but common understanding with them, honest-to-goodness cooperation with Communist Russia, seems most difficult, if not impossible. Does this mean that war is inevitable? No. It means that we must rid ourselves of all illusions with respect to Bolshevism.

We must make and keep strong all the agencies and bulwarks of democracy. We must confront the Communist world with superior strength. But, above all, we must present to the whole world an effective functioning democracy, fully responsive to the social, political, economic and moral challenges of our time. On guard, my fellow Americans. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty.

Philip L. Theory
and behavior are
two things and that
goes J.W. is much for the U.S.A.
for Russia.

Judge Charles Solomon was appointed to the bench by the late Mayor LaGuardia and served for 10 years as a New York City Magistrate. Now special representative of Labor's League for Political Education (AFL), he served several terms as a Socialist member of the State Assembly and helped organize the first newspaper writers' union in the City years ago when he was a member of the staff of the New York Call, Socialist and labor daily.

O. John Rogge, former Assistant Attorney General of the U.S. and a frequent contributor to THE DAILY COMPASS, is now engaged in the private practice of law in New York City and specializes in cases involving civil liberties.

—CLIP ROUTELL

What's Your Opinion?

Have you a bone to pick, an ax of general interest you'd like to grind or information to round out the picture presented on this page? If you have by all means let us hear from you but please keep your letters brief. The most pertinent of them will appear on the date opposite. Write to Issue Of The Day, THE DAILY COMPASS, 164 Duane St., New York 12, N. Y.

one-quarter of the earth's surface and more than 200,000,000 people.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union both supported a resolution recommending that the flag of the United Nations be flown over all Trust territories, side by side with the flag of the administering authority. Great Britain, France and Belgium, among others, opposed the resolution. Britain not only opposed the Resolution, but its delegation called a press conference at which John Fletcher-Cooke, colonial affairs adviser to the British Delegation, declared: "You may take it definitely we will not be able to fly the U.N. flag."

According to him the tendency to increase U.N. authority over the colonial world was the result of a three-year process of encirclement which he described as a full-scale assault. The U.S. and the Soviet Union were allies in this assault.

Fletcher-Cooke, speaking with vehemence, also hinted in his press conference that Great Britain would probably boycott the three-year Colonial Watchdog Committee voted by the Assembly's Trusteeship Committee.

The Assembly itself subsequently approved this committee. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. voted "may I say as allies and supporters the Resolution, while the colonial powers voted it."

The U.S. and the Soviet Union also both voted for an expanded cooperative program of technological assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries and regions through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The vote on this resolution was unanimous.

Businessmen who have had trade agreements with the Russians (which are a form of understanding) will give Soviet officials a good recommendation for integrity.

When Stalin and Vlasimay say that capitalism and Communism can live at peace with one another in the world let us not ridicule them. Rather let us see whether they mean what they say.

When Mr. Vlasimay relates his country's willingness to permit periodic inspection in the field of atomic energy let us explore the matter before deciding it. Maybe it can become the basis of an acceptable counter-proposal.

Let us not in one breath talk about peace on earth and good-will and in the next breath call for a holy war on Communism. Rather let us take a one world—United Nations' view and look for ways and means in which people of different culture patterns can live at peace with one another in the world.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York 7, New York

January 27, 1950

MEMO:

Re: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN -
SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1670

By attached report dated December 7, 1949 Confidential Informant [redacted] advised of the "Eastern Seaboard Congress on American-Soviet Relations", sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which was held on December 3, 4 and, 5, 1949 at Manhattan Center, 114 E. 32nd Street, New York City, and Madison Square Garden, respectively. The theme of all the speeches consisted of attacks against the TRUMAN Administration for the cold war, the MARSHALL Plan, the North Atlantic Pact and for its political, economic and foreign policies. The Justice Department, PARNELL THOMAS and American propaganda against the Soviet Union were also attacked. Resolutions adapted at the meeting for the establishment of a national educational campaign, to enlighten the people as to the U.S. propaganda program, the Soviet Union's peace aims and the failure of the U.S. to participate in peace negotiations, are set out in the report.

cc: 67-2557 (P&C)
cc: 100-49131 (DR. HARRY WARD)
cc: 100-50874 (JESSICA SMITH)
cc: 100-90979 (CORLISS LAMONT)
cc: 100-80294 (REV. W.H. MELISH)
cc: 100-64429 (A. JENOFSKY)
cc: 100-80918 (J.H. LAWSON)
cc: 100-14743 (MURIEL DRAPER)
cc: 100-16097 (ABBOT SIMON)
cc: 100-80863 (CP, USA-CZ.)
cc: 100-47738 (CLARA RUBIN)
cc: 100-91923 (DR. OTTO NATHAN)

cc: 100-25771 (DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY)
cc: 100-14356 (DONALD HENDERSON)
cc: 100-50984 (THEODORE BAYER)
cc: 100-46163 (REV. RICHARD MORFORD)
cc: 100-21421 (A. FRACHTENBERG)
cc: 100-95459 (O.JOHN ROGGE)
cc: 100-61206 (HOWARD FAST)
cc: 100-26200 (AMER. SLAV. CONG.)
cc: 100-3620 (ACFPFOFB)
cc: 100-85968 (CP, USA-MISC. FOREIGN)
cc: 100-95134 (J.J. JOSEPH)

RTC:bbm



100-95459-43

FBI - NEW YORK

JAN 27 1950

Memo:
NY 100-7518

Reports on the outlook of foreign countries toward the Soviet Union were taken up. The Establishment of Socialism in the U.S., as the Council's main task, was prevalent in many of the speeches. Dr. HARRY WARD, CORLISS LAMONT, JOHN A. KINGSBURY, HOWARD FAST, MURIEL DRAPER and JOHN H. LAWSON were some of the speakers at the Congress. The Bureau has been advised by teletype of this Congress.

[REDACTED]
b7D

RICHARD T. CLANCY, SA

Report

Dec. 7, 1949
New York

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship Activities.

Re: Eastern Seaboard Congress on American-Soviet Relations held in N.Y. on December 3rd, 4th and 5th, 1949.

The keynote session of the Eastern Seaboard Congress of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship opened at Manhattan Center in New York City on December 3rd, 1949.

Rev. RICHARD MURFORD, executive director of the National Council introduced the chairman of the Keynote Session by stating that "we gathered here to work out a program of actions against the cold war and for political and economic cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union".

The chairman of the Keynote Session was Dr. JOHN A. KINGSBURY, chairman of the National Council.

Some 200 people, delegates and guests, came to this session.

Dr. KINGSBURY made a short speech stating that the delegates to this congress represent different opinions on political, economic and religious questions but all of them are interested in world peace. He underlined that this congress will conduct its business "in this spirit" ("of promoting world peace"). "We must stand up for peace." He concluded his remarks with: "We must spearhead this movement for peace."

Dr. HARRY WARD, Professor of Union Theological Seminary, stated that "the cold war policy was facing failure on all fronts in Europe. The cold war policy of Washington is breaking up" and that "there is a turn of the tide in the United States".

Dr. WARD called for re-opening of cultural and economic relations between the United States, the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. He also underlined that the claim that Communism in Europe is on decline is false. "The Communist Party in France is stronger today. So is the Communist Party in Italy." He said that the fact that the Pope was compelled to intervene in the Italian elections and to take up the fight against Communism on a world scale shows that Communism is getting stronger in Europe and all over the world.

Talking about Germany he said that "in Germany the Western powers failed completely to fix the minds (on the question of democratizing the people of Germany) of the people in their zone."

Turning back to the question of the "cold war", Dr. WARD criticized President TRUMAN for saying that "the cold war must go on until Russia surrenders". "We are beginning to dictate". WARD exclaimed, instead of negotiate. Only now, since they discovered that the Soviet has the atomic bomb, the situation changed. There is now an approach to equality. Even more than that: We are almost begging the Soviet Union to be good". He also declared that "there is a growing revolt of those businessmen (in the U.S.) who are not getting a cent from the cold war business".

He warned his listeners that "we are not living in a rational world" and because of this "we must expect some desperate moves from the cold war architects. We must be prepared for this kind of emergency and there is where we come in". He said that "so far our voice is not effective; there are untouched millions in the middle west. These millions are beginning to stern. We must concentrate on the middle west. We must explain to our people who invented the idea and why that the Soviet Union is going to attack us?" He underlined that "we must arouse the people and tell them the truth of the situation". He said that a convention should be called to outlaw the use of the atomic bomb and he underlined that from the "very beginning the S.U. proposed this". WARD further stated that "the main point in their propaganda is that the Soviet Union wants to dominate the world". He explained that this "might be correct in the ideologically". He said Christianity also wanted to dominate the world and that "Communism has the same right as Christianity to agitate their idea". He called for a campaign to enlighten the people on the questions of war and peace and about "keeping democracy alive in the United States".

Dr. WARD outlined the "enlightening" campaign among the wide masses.

The distribution of million of leaflets; the printing of pamphlets; the preparation of small editorials for small town newspapers; to make recordings for the country people; to buy time on small radio stations; at all times talk to your neighbors and in the churches. "We must devise an improved mass propaganda." Let's gate the case to the people".

DONALD HENDERSON, national administrative director of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America, said that "we speak to and also for the American people to the world on peace". He underlined that the people of Europe want peace. He stated that the effect of PAUL ROBESON'S fight "for peace and for a free world is great. The Negro people of the world are unconscious to the danger of war; they know now that we are together fighting for peace. The TRUMANS and the MARSHALLS are not the only voices of America. There are two voices. The real voice from America is the voice of the people and this voice is the voice of peace. We demand friendship between the two greatest powers in the world. The American workers don't want war. They want peace and better living conditions. The workers realize that the dropping of the Atomic Bomb cannot win a war. For a war we need armies and it will be the workers who will have to pay the price for war; don't believe the statements of our State Department that we have strong allies in western. These statements are false... Our warmongers are trying to make of Europe and Germany a springboard against the Soviet Union, but the people of Europe (he claimed that he spoke to hundreds of people in different countries of Europe on the subject of war with the S.U.) will not go to war against the Soviet Union. The people of Europe believe and they are convinced that the S.U. is their only and real friend.

If a war should break out the people of Europe will turn the war into a civil war in every country of Europe. The European underground who fought so bravely and affectively against fascism is still alive and active in Europe in Europe. Our State Department doesn't tell you about this. But I'm telling you about it because I know what will happen if they should start a new war."

He attacked the CIO and AFL leadership for the building "of a new international working class organization. He underlined that the National CIO organization "was against the cold war, against fascism, against the draft law and was an important part of the World Federation of Trade Unions. What a change in the last two years! PHILIP MURRAY, JAMES CAREY and some other CIO leaders are trying to sell a bill of goods to the workers. No more opposition to the cold war. They expell any one who disagree with them. The CIO - AFL - State Department are non engaged in organizing a new labor organization in London. These labor leaders ask you: "Do you agree and support the American State Department?" You must say: "Yes", They intend to divide the workers of the world; they intend to split the world labor movement; they work for the Americanization of Europe. This is the meaning of what is going on in London today".

He stated that the standard of living of the American workers dropped and that "you can not spend 20 billion dollars for war and keep Social Security". He called upon the people to demand "an end to the cold war and to the spending on making of war materials" and as alternative to demand "an increase in world trade, trading between the west and the east, development of the backwards areas; trading with New China". He stated that the MARSHALL Plan "lowered the standard of living of the working class" and that "the people must demand a change in our foreign policy".

HENDERSON also stated that "we must fight against the use of atomic bomb and we must demand - we are missing a bit -- the use of atomic energy for civilian purpose. The U.S. is already using atomic energy for industry." He said that the American workers must fight (the AFL, CIO leadership) to prevent the strait jacketing of labor. We must work for peace. The Soviet Union wants peace..."

Panel 1: — (Afternoon Session)

Subject: American post war political and economic policy; a reorientation toward American - Soviet cooperation

The chairman of this meeting (Panel 1) was Dr. HARRY GRINDFEST. He opened the meeting with a few short remarks that "the cold war policy is in a state of bankruptcy" and that "the MARSHALL Plan failed to bring stabilization in Europe".

J. J. JOSEPH, former director of organization for Europe of UNRRA, talking about the "cold war" said: "Cold or hot is only a difference in degree. Cold could get hot. The cold war is a preparation for a hot war. Our present foreign policy; the TRUMAN Doctrine, the MARSHALL Plan; the North Atlantic Pact— were to promote an industrial policy for our domination of the world."

He claimed that the results of the MARSHALL Plan show (he gave lots of figures) that "the Eastern European countries are better off without the MARSHALL Plan than the Marshall Plan countries." According to his figures the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries increased their industrial output and reduced unemployment and that "in all of the Marshall Plan countries industry is lagging behind the figures of the pre-Marshall Plan output" and that unemployment increased and that in some countries "unemployment almost doubled". He underlined that the only country benefiting from the Marshall Plan is Germany with a 77% industrial increase—"and this is because we are trying to build up Germany as a potential war ally against the Soviet Union."

He also showed figures on trading "after all the Marshall Plan is supposed to encourage trade, but trade also declined in the Marshall Plan countries". Some of his figures:

Imports West to U.S. declined 90% of pre-war figures. U.S. to West 15%.

Imports West to East increased by 19%; Soviet Union to the West—increased 51%. He also painted a gloomy picture of "decline" in the U.S.—high cost of living, lower wages, a general decline in the standard of living and a increase in unemployment; "We have now some 5 million unemployed". He underlined that "our country would be better off to stay away from the Marshall". He underlined that the foreign policy (of the U.S.) goes hand-in-hand with the economic policy and that "this incar spending in Greece, Turkey, China and the hugh sums that are being spent by our government on the suppressing of the peoples movement everywhere in the world; the multibillion dollar war budgets all of which have a tremendous effect on our economy, etc. The Eastern European Countries and the Soviet Union are doing nicely because of the Socialist nature of their economy."

He concluded with: "We must recognize the failure of our economic and military policy. We must remember that the hugh military budgets come—but directly from the pockets of the people. The only remedy is a positive peace policy: A resumption of political and economic relations with all countries, cultural interchanges, etc. will bring peace and prosperity to our people and to the world. We must reach our people with this message."

JESSICA SMITH, editor of Soviet Russia Today, said that "American-Soviet Cooperation is the most important point today. It is the most important thing for the interest of our own country". She underlined that American-Soviet cooperation today is just as important as lend-lease was important 1941. She criticized as "stupid" the Department of Justice for running the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship subversive.

She declared that "the cold war policies have failed. It's no longer a question of waiting to see whether the TRUMAN Doctrine, the MARSHALL Plan and other aspects of our policy can be made to work. They haven't worked."

She said that the cold war against the Soviet Union began with the Atomic Bomb and that this policy proved to be a total failure. She said the U.S. is suffering from the cold war policy more than any other country and that our country "could suffer most from the type of war that would be the only outcome of our present policy if not checked."

She underlined that "since our government has nothing to offer but an intensification of policies already proved bankrupt, as for example the North Atlantic Pact, it is time for the American people to step in."

She criticized the Barach Plan and stated "as illusionary or plain lying" statements "of our government representatives that the Soviet Union cannot produce as big atomic bombs as the U.S."

SDITH stated, "The growing Socialist sector of the world is here to stay and the capitalist world needs to recognize this fact quickly and in its own self interest". She warned that "the desperate drive" of our country into ever more "warlike and disastrous policies" must be checked and that "only the American people can do it".

She outlined a "peoples program for peace":

"The scrapping of aggressive blocks and pacts, patient and endless search for peace.

"Renewed effort for agreement through direct American-Soviet negotiations.

"Economic and trade relations with the S.U., Eastern democracies and with New China.

"Reduction of armaments and an end to war preparations and war propaganda.

"The outlawing of the atomic bomb.

"Outlawing bacteriological warfare." She stated that "the Soviet Union always opens the door for negotiations and peace. We always slap the door" and that "our military aid program adds to the danger of war and leads us towards a police state and fascism." She also underlined that the outlawing of the atomic bomb "will restore world public opinion to the U.S.", She told the meeting about "the loss of an application of the S.U. for a 1 billion dollar loan from the files of our State Department" (the audience laughed). She underlined again the "the North Atlantic Pact, the rebuilding of Germany in a war threat against our great war time ally, the Soviet Union" and "our fight in world war against fascism was in vain" and "we must mobilize our people for peace" and "our efforts are still weak, but there is evidence of awakening. Our people want peace. The people of the Soviet Union want peace. Let's work for peace."

A question from the floor to JOSEPH: The war budget, the rearming program and the Marshall. Billions are being spent on these programs. Why is the output of our industries declining? Why have got unemployment? Why is the Marshall Plan not helpfull to the Marshall Plan countries?

JOSEPH: "Arms expenditures do not increase the purchasing power of the people. This expenditures create only a few jobs, War armaments; atomic bombs, planes, etc. are very costly; tremendous sums are spent on pay to soldiers, on feeding and clothing them. These are the reasons why such high spendings not only do not help our economy, but are actually destroying our economy. On the other hand if we would inaugurate a large trading program with the Soviet Union, Eastern democracies and the New China all our factories would be busy 24 hours a day, 7 days a week and millions upon millions of our people and many more millions of people in other countries would be engaged on productive work and this would mean prosperity on a world scale. The Marshall Plan failed because the war forced the European countries to develop a New system of "economic nationalization". The Marshall Plan is trying to save the old capitalist system and specified; "No nationalizations No trading with the East." Here are some interesting figures on the working of the Marshall Plan: The trading of some 350,000,000 (U.S.A. and the Eastern European Countries) during the last year amounted to some \$60,000,000. We sent to Europe under the Marshall Plan \$200,000,000 worth of tobacco, but we sent agriculture machinery which costs \$40,000,000 from these figures you could judge for yourself why the Marshall Plan is a failure. This does not include the political side of the Marshall Plan: We are dictating the political policies of every Marshall Plan country. But this is a different question and because of shortage in time I can't go into right now."

A question to JESSICA SMITH:

Is it possible to negotiative peace agreements between the U.S. and the S.U. on the present stage of distrust?

JESSICA SMITH: "The people of the S.U. and the Soviet government have constantly expressed their desire to have peacefull relations with the U.S. The S.U. has reasons to mistrust the U.S. Remember the interventions and the "no trade", "no loans", some 500 war cases all over the world, the Atlantic Pact, the rearming of Germany. How could the Soviet Union be trustfull?"

In 1946 the Soviet Union opened its doors for tourists. We started to have cultural interchange. As the result of our cold war policy the Soviet Union was compelled to shut up its doors. We must eliminate our aggressive policy and those eliminate distrust. Our idea of rebuilding the industries of Germany is to build up a barrier against the Soviet Union."

A proposal was made to publish the proceedings of this panel. It was decided to turn over this recommendation to the Board of the N.C.

Panel 2 (Evening Session)

(about 150 people present)

Subject: Political Structure and Development
in the Soviet Union, State Structure.
Constitution. The Soviets and the Masses.
A family of Nations. Jews in the USSR.
Peoples Initiative and Control.

The chairman of this meeting (Panel 2) was Miss BERNICE NOAR. She opened the session with a few remarks stating that "the American people are being kept in total darkness about the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. The Soviet system is called red fascism, dictatorship and totalitarianism and what not... Is there any wonder of the American people are afraid of the red Russians?... There is only one way how to counteract the vicious anti-Soviet propaganda. We are getting lots of information about the Soviet Union and we must spread this information among people."

THEODORE BAKER spoke on the formation of the Soviet State. He said that "the Soviets (councils) were formed in Russia during the revolution of 1905 (which is correct). After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 LENIN and STALIN again formed Soviets of working people's deputies. In 1905 the revolution was crushed; but in 1917 the Soviets became the foundation of the New State". He spoke on the history of the 1905-1917 revolutions and he underlined that "in 1917 the Soviets undertook to change the economic structure of the State from capitalism to socialism". He read points 2 and 4 of the Constitution of the USSR. He also told the meeting that the Soviet Union is the most "constitutionalized country in the world". That since the Bolshevik revolution (1917) the Soviets had 3 different constitutions. The last one is called the STALIN Constitution and that this constitution is a socialist constitution. He underlined that "the frequent changes in the constitutions of the USSR and the amendments are showing the elasticity of the Soviet system; the Soviet constitution is an instrument of a living State which is being changed as time and circumstances demand." He also stated that the Soviet Union is presently a Socialist State and is not on its way to become a Communist State and that the constitution will be changed again.

CORLIS LAMONT said that one of the important things is that "we must use 'human reason' on American-Soviet relations. Angry men and screaming headlines will not solve the problem of American-Soviet relations...". He underlined that "there are short comings in both of our great countries" and at the same breath, as if apologizing, he said, "the great achievement of the Soviet Union is the way the U.S. solved the question of the 170 national minorities". These national minorities, LAMONT stated were oppressed under the Czar. "The Soviet Soviets established a regime of Justice to National Minorities". He described the different national republics which make up the USSR.

He spoke about the "Soviet of nationalities" and about the Soviet Constitution - "a remarkable document". He stated that "there is no national or racial discrimination in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union you can't find discrimination in schools, hotels or bathing beaches such as we have in our country...". He stated that the Soviet Union is "National in form and socialist in construction..."

Speaking about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, LAMONT said that "the Soviet Union was always opposed to Zionism as a world bourgeois movement, but is not anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism as we have here and in some other countries was eliminated in the Soviet Union. The Nazi invasion brought back anti-Semitism into the areas they invaded and now anti-Semitism again disappeared."

He also stated that "here (in the U.S.) we have dangerous anti-Semitic and anti-Negro movement... It is a grave situation..." and that is one of the main reasons why the colonial people don't like us. They know that the Soviet Union is fighting for the National Minorities everywhere because of this the colonial people have great respect for the Soviet Union. We would do well if we would follow this example of the Soviet Union."

Prof. HARRY KARD said that "Democracy is a dynamic force in history. Socialist democracy as evidenced in the Soviet Union is higher than our American capitalist democracy, because it is based on its value in history (?). If our democracy is to continue to live it must develop economic democracy into socialism. The Soviet democracy is higher because it is an economic democracy. It is the right of the people to control their whole life. "All power to the people" - here LENIN and STALIN agree with LINCOLN. Communist democracy is still higher because it is based on "to each one according to the need...". He went on "Political democracy without economic democracy is meaningless. The development of economic democracy comes first. You cannot have political democracy and at the same time economic autocracy..."

KARD underlined that "you have here now less political democracy than in the time of JEFFERSON..." He spoke about production under Socialism and under Capitalism stating that "no capitalist state could have produced the economic miracle which was performed under the Soviet system." He underlined that all the five years plans in the Soviet Union were fulfilled on time and that they achieved their tasks and that "the success of Socialism in the Soviet Union is demonstrating the will of the people - it couldn't be done without it."

Speaking on the 2 party - 1 party system and on elections here and in the S.U. KARD stated that here we elect a politician who represents a party "and that's all"... In the Soviet Union one is elected because of his or her achievements in some special field of work. This representative represents

the work not the party" and this, according to WARD is why in the Soviet Union they do not need "2 or a 3 party system.

In the Soviet Union the elected doesn't represent even the Communist Party. One is not elect because he is a Communist..."

WARD also stated that... "we can have cooperation between the two countries providing we continue as a democracy..."

In the end we wouldn't have a democracy in the form we have it at present... We can talk about red fascism, dictatorship and other scary things, but the Soviet Union made remarkable progress. We cannot say this about our country... Soviet political democracy depends on interference and foreign conspiracy; our spies and "Operation I" do not allow the Soviets to extend their political democracy... our people must stop the politician from destroying our democracy and worry less about democracy in the Soviet Union".

Question to LAMONT: Are there slave labor camps in the Soviet Union?

LAMONT: I suppose there are penal labor camps. Some people here call them slave labor camps. As long as there are prisoners I would think it is more humane to have the prisoner work them to walk around in a circle for a hour..

To LAMONT: Isn't it true that during the war the Soviet Government removed all populations deep into Russia and to Syberia? Why?

LAMONT: It is true. In the case of the German republic on the Volga the Soviet Government dissolved this republic and distributed the population of this republic all over Russia. This was done because the Soviet Union find out that the population of this German republic collaborated with the enemy. In other cases the Soviet Gov't. removed the population for its own protection, as was the case of the removal of tens of thousands of Jews from the Ukraine. In our own country we witnessed the removal of the Japanese population from the Pacific Coast. The removal of the Japanese was made on the assumption that they might collaborate with the enemy. The Germans on the Volga did cooperate with the enemy.

Panel 4: December 4th (Morning Session)
(about 150 people present)

Subject: American Soviet Relations and
Peace Settlements in Europe.
Divided Germany: Rebuilding for
Peace or War? Austria, The Balkans,
Relations between Eastern and Western
Countries.

The chairman of this meeting was THEODORE BAYER. He stated that "the cold war which was devised by the United States and England is preventing the establishment of peace in Europe..." and that "peace in Europe will be established only when America and the Soviet Union will resume friendly relations..." and that "this will be possible only with the calling off the cold war..." According to BAYER the United States all the agreements including the Potsdam agreement and that now the western powers are rebuilding Germany for war against the Soviet Union.

Dr. GREGORY MEIKSIONS declared that "the cold war architects suddenly discovered and came out to prove that LENIN is a MARXIST and STALIN is a STALINIST..." This discovery "they made", according to Dr. MEIKSIONS, right after the war and "from here Washington inaugurated the most vicious campaign of slanders and lies against the Soviet Union..."

He said that "the ROOSEVELT policies seemed to the Soviet Union an attempt of American capitalism to take a progressive view..." And that "many problems would be resolved in Russian favor..." and that "Soviet diplomacy was prepared to meet American policy half way..." He underlined that with the death of President ROOSEVELT the situation took a sharp turn and "the reactionary crowd in Washington started the cold war. The first casualty of the cold war was the Soviet Union, ("just as a figure of speech, because the first and the real casualty of the cold war was the U.S. and the other western powers") after that the cold war guns were armed at the Balkan Countries and at the Eastern European countries..."

"Is stated the people of the whole world are suffering because of the cold war and that the American people must demand that our administration stop the cold war by restoring trade to political cooperation between the East and West."

Dr. OTTO NATHAN said that he visited Poland and Czechoslovakia and that he spoke to government officials, to workers and to peasants and, "not once did I hear about Soviet domination of the country. While observing the situation in Poland and in Czechoslovakia I came to the conclusion hold them together with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is their natural ally..." and "the Polish government and the people of Poland just came to the conclusion that they need the protection of the Soviet Union..." He also underlined that the appointment of ROKOSOWSKY (a Russian General) to head the defense of Poland "means to the Polish people that the Soviet Union stands ready to protect Poland..." He also stated that none of the Eastern European countries he visited have Socialism. "They are only laying to fundation for Socialism..."

"Czechoslovakia" he said "would like to have a 50-50 relationship,

50 with the Soviet Union and 50 with the West..." He also said that it is "nonsense to talk about the Soviet Union exploiting Czechoslovakia. The fact is that the Soviet Union is helping Czechoslovakia. It is the cold war of the Western powers that is preventing Poland and Czechoslovakia from developing their industries..." He concluded with: "The building of Socialism is a very difficult job and it will take many years to accomplish this job".

VICTOR PERLO spoke about the world war 2 and that the Soviet Union came into the war on the side of the western democracies "to fight the most evil force of all time fascism..." and that "the result of war #2 was to reduce the area of fascism..." He also declared that "if the STALIN-ROOSEVELT agreements had been continued there wouldn't be any elements of fascism..." He also spoke about the importance "for the peace loving people of the world to establish an international control of the War" and he underlined that the formation of New German armies means a new, a 3rd world war. The aim may be to keep these armies in Germany and use them later on against the Soviet Union, or to send these armies directly to the Soviet frontiers... Did the western powers forget "the famous cry "Drang nach osten?" Before reaching Russia, the Nazi armies conquered all of Europe... It was the Soviet Union that saved the western democracies from total annihilation..." He said that we must talk about these facts to the American people and that the American people "must force the U.S. Government to change the stupid cold policy against our great war time ally..."

This panel adopted a recommendation to the resolutions committee "to deny that the Soviet Union is dominating the Eastern European countries and that the Soviet government has no imperialistic aims."

Group Session December 4th (afternoon session)

(about 75 people present)

Nationality and Fraternal Panel

JOHN MARSALKA, leader of the American-Slav Congress, opened the meeting with a few remarks about "the lies that there is anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union." He said that lies about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and pogroms in the Ukraine are part of the same pattern of the cold war propaganda. "The lies and the slanders against the Soviet Union have one main aim to discredit the S.U. in the eyes of the people." He also made a few remarks on "Titoism." He expressed the opinion that the U.S. and the other western power, especially England, "have hopes that Yugoslavia will bring to a split between the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Of course this can not and will not happen. They know that there is a great common bond between the Eastern people's democracies and the Soviet Union. It seems to me that they lie so much about the Eastern Democracies being satellites of the Soviet Union that they are beginning to believe in their own lies." He also regretted the fact that the American-Slav Congress was "to allow to expose the TITO affair" and "to bring to the people the lies about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union."

He said that the American-Slav Congress decided to start "an educational campaign" on the two mentioned above subject immediately.

Delegate NEDELMAN of Branch 116 JPFO stated that the question of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is a big problem. "Before this question came up even the reactionary Jews favored the Soviet Union and now many members of my organization are confused on this issue." He proposed that every Branch of the JPFO and every progressive mass organization, especially such organizations as the American-Slav Congress, should organize discussions and educational campaigns on this subject in the neighborhoods and among their members and national groups.

CLARA RUBIN, member of the National Board of the Women's Division for American-Sov. Friendship, said that "in spite of the slanders and lies about the Soviet Union the world is moving ahead. The people of the world have confidence in the Soviet Union we know that there isn't anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, so, there isn't anything to deny the enemy wants to confuse us. I say to the enemy: You will not succeed."

Mrs. ROBERT ("Secretary of the Jefferson School") stated that "the reactionaries and the war mongers are trying to cover up their shameful act with lies about the Soviet Union. Fascism in Greece succeeded only because of the United States and with the help of Britain. Our job is to explain this to the people. She also proposed to send a telegram to the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born "who is meeting in Detroit today."

Dr. GOODMAN proposed to concentrate on propaganda among the "unfriendly mass organizations". He proposed that members of progressive organizations should join every kind of fraternal and mass organization for the purpose of propaganda.

This panel adopted the following recommendations to the congress for adoption:

1. Progressive organizations should organize political schools for education of their members and the people in general.
2. Congress (of the N.C.A.S.F.) should send a telegram to the C. for the P. of F. B.
3. All the progressive publications (language and American) should publish all the facts about the Soviet Union and circulate these issues among the population.
4. Each progressive person should act as a committee of one and wherever possible expose the warmongers and the slanders about the Soviet Union.
5. To join all kind of non progressive organizations and to speak there on the issues of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Closing Plenary Session. December 4th

Dr. JOHN A. KINOSBURY opened the meeting by introducing Rev. RICHARD MORFURD as chairman of the closing session.

He thanked the delegates for their work "on behalf of peace. You are the actual leaders for peace." He asked the delegates to work for peace, for friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. "Don't be afraid if you will be called a subversive. If working for peace is subversive you and I are proud of this title."

JESSICA SMITH read the "overall resolution" (She said that each delegate will receive the resolutions adopted at this congress as soon as the National Council will have them ready) which stated that "we are anxious over the security of peace because of our cold war policy. Demanding friendly cooperation between the U.S. and the USSR. This would restore international cooperation; underlining that the Atlantic Pact is an aggressive act and because of this it is a violation of the U.N. Charter. Stating that the world cries out for peace and that the Soviet Union was always for peace. Underlining that trade embarg produced disastrous results on our economy; demanding immediate trading with China. Instead of an arms program to introduce public work. The outlawing of the atomic bomb and that the American people should demand the use of atomic energy for industry. The peaceful competition in this world between capitalism and socialism; strengthen the U.N.; recognition of China; destruction of the atomic bomb.

The "overall resolution was adopted by this session. Adopted were also in form of resolutions the recommendations of the Panel meetings, such as:

The U. S. should honor its obligations of the Potsdam agreement; the policies on Japan to be subject to the allied council; to issue a special communication to "community organizations" on the Vatican propaganda against the Soviet Union; the building of the U.N. as an instrument of peace; the voice of America should discontinue its anti-peace propaganda. The floor discussions on every point of the above-mentioned resolutions were light and every resolution passed as read.

Rev. WM. HOWARD MELISH made an appeal to buy and sell tickets for the Madison Sq. Garden. He underlined that the garden meeting on December 5th must be a success.

MELISH made a short closing speech stating that "the TRUMAN administration revived the old and deadly policy of containment. The U.S. came out of the last war with a peculiar complex of economic superiority..." He stated that "the Soviet people don't want war" and that "there has been no serious attempt on the part of our government to negotiate with the Soviet Union." He said that as a result of the cold war policy "our civil liberties are being abolished. We are engaged in a vicious witch-hunt and red-baiting campaign." He underlined that government and civilian workers are being "eliminated from their jobs because they think differently. The real menace to America is the destruction of our own American way of life." He also said that "our alliance in the World today are anti-democratic." He attacked the government for aid "the anti-democratic forces" in Greece, Turkey, China, Spain and all "the reactionary and fascist groups all over the world." He accused and warned that "America is becoming a business corporative state."

He said that the American people should demand that we produce civilian goods instead of producing arms. "We must ask of our leaders to change our foreign policy" and "we must work for a broad movement for a program of a peoples peace." He underlined that during his tour over the country he became convinced that "there is a desire for knowledge of political issue in the country. We have a great task of educating the people of our country."

This meeting was attended by some 400 people.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG attended the meetings and some of the Panels of the Congress for the Communist Party as a delegate.

was about 350 delegates. Leaders of the National Council were disappointed; that the attendance wasn't large enough and that the delegates to this congress did not represent "the cross section of the people" (?).

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Peoples Rally for Peace - Dec. 5th, 1949.

The 3-day Eastern Seaboard Congress on American-Soviet Relations, under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, came to a close with the "Peoples Rally for Peace" at Madison Sq. Garden in N.Y. on December 5th, 1949.

Some 10,000 people came to this meeting. The regular Madison Sq. Garden crowd; Communists and left-wingers from trade unions and mass organizations. The chairman of this meeting was Dr. JOHN A. KINGSEURY.

A. JENOFSKY, National Secretary of the Ambridge, whom I met after the meeting, told me that JOHN ROGGE was suppose to speak at this meeting; that he didn't speak because his speech had some criticism of the U.S. Communists. The N.C. of A.S.F. asked ROGGE to cut out his criticism. ROGGE refused: "he didn't speak ---" JENOFSKY said.

The chairman opened the meeting with a short speech underlining that the first mass meeting of the N.C.A.-S.F. also took place at the Madison Sq. Garden and that at that time the meeting received greetings from President ROOSEVELT, LA GUARDIA, LAMONT (THOMAS), LEHMAN and from other important leaders. "This was when we were not subversive- TOM CLARK wasn't around. Every one at that time agreed that we can not win the war without the Soviet Union. No greetings came to this people's rally for peace from the leaders of our government; they our political leaders in Washington, are too busy to bother with peace; they are engaged in making the cold war against the Soviet Union." He stated that "we cannot hope of building a peaceful world without the Soviet Union". He spoke about "the struggle of the red army which saved the world from the clutches of fascism" and he exclaimed "Down the ages mankind will remember the struggle of the red forces around STALINOR.D." Paying tribute to "the outstanding work of such leader of the of the N.C." as CORLIS LAMONT, THEODORE BAYER, REV. MURFORD, REV. MELISH, he concluded his speech with: "Let us go forward with our program for peace".

JOHN HOWARD LARSON said that "we are gathered here for friendship, but friendship became a subversive word... The American spirit is being violated, American tradition is put to shame by the Washington cold war gang... Washington men talk peace, but mean war... There is a conspiracy in our country to destroy the Bill of Rights..." He spoke against the loyalty act, against the government discharging people from work "on the say-so of the

American gestapo spies." He said that "the men in Washington, the press and the radio are spreading lies about the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracies - all of which have one aim - to make war." He spoke sarcastically about PARNEL THOMAS who "passed as a supper patriot while stealing money from the Government. Mr. THOMAS just answer - are you or are you not (laughing in the audience). He stated that "THOMAS and the Peekskill hoodlums are not the only evil and danger to America. Some of our statesmen, the SOKOLSKY'S and the MEDINAS are more dangerous than the hoodlums. The peace award given recently to Medina and SOKOLSKY is an American tragedy..." He called upon the American people to work for a world peace. "Let us speak out for peace. The people of the U.S. want peace and we shall have peace."

Rev. CHARLES P. HILL, Detroit, stated that "there is one road to peace understanding: that the TRUMAN Doctrine, the MARSHALL Plan, the atomic bomb are not guarantees for they are leading to war." He spoke against "the creating of fear among the people", about "billions spent for war" and about "the fight for peace became subversive. The Kingdom of God could become a reality if we will respect the way of life of other people". He called upon the people "to fight for peace".

HOWARD FAST said that "the Russians have faith in mankind and in the future..." He spoke against those "who are spreading lies about Russia" and against the spending of millions on a-bombs "While millions of people go without food. There is no money for cancer research, but we have billions for war... I like to say to you if we have to a-bomb thank God the Russians have it too... Russia will use atomic energy to make of the deserts blooming gardens..." Speaking on our land of plenty, he said "What have we got here - homogenized milk at 2½ a quart... Russia is the hope of mankind of today and of humanity of tomorrow... The only virtue of the TRUMANS and the HURSTS is their hate of Communism... We have here renegades and treason and a vile government... The truth about the Soviet Union must not be shout from the rooftops... We must go for friendship to Russia because there is life..." He called upon the people for a "united struggle for peace".

DONALD HENDERSON advised the people not to believe that "a cold war will lead to peace". He also called to "renew the wartime friendship between the work of the U.S. and the workers of the S.U." He attacked WILLIAM GREEN and PHILIP MURRAY for trying to split the world labor movement and he said, "Mr. TRUMAN, if you want to save capitalism, and I don't care if you do or you don't engage in world trade. The workers want jobs, peace increased trade, not guns." He called upon the workers and the American people to fight against the cold war, the outlawing of the a-bomb and for the use of atomic energy in industry. He also underlined that "the MURRAYS do not represent the American workers".

Rev. W. MELISH was acting as narrator in a sketch. The idea of the sketch was that millions of people all over the world are united in the movement against war and for the outlawing of the a-bomb; also an American worker is shaking the hand of a Russian worker — a symbol of friendship between the people of the U.S. and S.U.

On an appeal for funds made by Rev. MURFORD some \$7,000 was collected. MURFORD called upon the American people to join the N.C.A.-S. P. in the fight for peace. Among the donators were: Dr. EMALIN PEARSON, \$500, HUBERMAN \$50, City College students \$25, Jefferson School Student Council \$25, Mr. KRAMER \$25, BRUCHE CHIN \$25, FREEDM. DIAMOND \$400.

MURIEL DRAPER stated that she just returned from the Soviet Union and brought greetings from the Russian women to the American women. She said that the women of Russia are interested "in the building of peace; that "they hate war let's work together for peace."

ELMER BENSON spoke in the name— as chairman of the Progressive Party. He called for Unity of the American People to fight" against a double policy and double talk". He said that the North Atlantic Pact is lowering the standard of living of the people of Europe. He claimed that the people of Europe are against the North Atlantic Pact. He said that the U.S. must recognize "immediately" the "Peoples Republic of China" and that the U.S. should trade with every country in the world.

JULIUS KATZ -- SUCKY, Poland's permanent delegate to the U.N. stated that "In the present situation there isn't any issue bigger than the issue of peace or war". He said that in former days when people fought for peace they used to be respected; today if you talk peace you are being suspected of subversive activities. He criticized the U.S. for its attitude towards VISHINSKYS proposal to conclude a 5-power non-aggression pact. If this kind of a pact is necessary why did they conclude a North Atlantic Pact?" He stated that the a-bomb must be outlawed and "atomic energy be used for the benefit of mankind." He underlined that the Soviet Union and the countries of the peoples democracies stand as the guards of peace. He warned that "war cannot stop the march towards socialism" and he underlined that "Socialism and capitalism could exist side by side and work and cooperate for the free development of humanity."

Rogge Seeks Liberal OK of Progressives, Refutes Red Control

By MURRAY KEMPTON

The debate inside Henry Wallace's Progressive Party sharpened today as O. John Rogge, former Assistant U. S. Attorney General and a devoted Wallace follower, completed the draft of a program which he hopes will make it "plain that the party is not a radical party and not a Communist party."

A statement of Rogge's views will soon be circulated privately among a number of non-Communist Progressive Party leaders.

He plans to present his program with as much support as he can muster to the Progressive convention in Chicago on Feb. 24.

Its adoption would commit the Wallace party, for the first time in its two-year existence, to the position that the Soviet Union is not above criticism.

Rogge also wants lebenraum among the Progressives for the Tito "heresy," for which he and a number of other Wallaceites have been privately criticized by their more pro-Soviet allies.

ROGGE

The Rogge program, in essence, conceives a Progressive Party which would welcome Communists as active

Continued on Page 16



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ASAC2
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SEC 2

SEC 3

SEC 4

SEC 5

SEC 6

SEC 7

SEC 8

SEC 9

SEC 11

PROJECT SUPERVISOR

PROPERTY CLERK

TRAINING UNIT

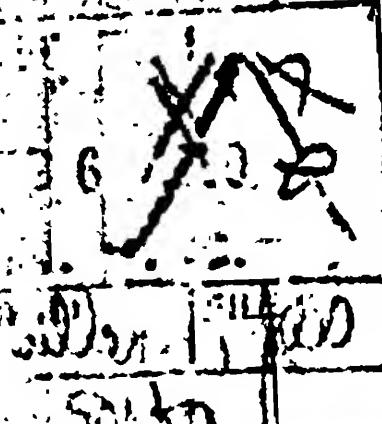
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100-95459-44

WICHITA FALLS
Post Home News

FEB 2 1950

SEARCHED..... INDEXED..... SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
RECORDED IN S. F. DIVISION



Rogge Woods Liberals

By Murray Kempton

Continued from Page 2
members but would be in charge of "progressives and not Communists."

The privately circulated statement which will form the basis of the convention appeal contains a categorical denial that the party is now Communist-led.

It is, he says, "a coalition of all left-of-center forces." And in his draft program, Rogge appeals to all "who place human rights ... (to) come over and make us respectable."

In his attempt to move the Progressive Party to a direction which will allay the suspicion of those liberals who have shunned it since its inception, Rogge is prepared for a fight with his party's pro-Communist wing.

"Just as on the one hand, we are not going to run when somebody uses the label 'Communist' or 'Communist front,'" he says, "so on the other hand, we are not going to be afraid when someone uses the label 'red-baiter.' I know that some of my statements ... will cause my Communist friends to call me a red-baiter."

This does not mean that Rogge's conflict with his party's Communist element is necessarily irreconcilable. His program expresses almost complete disenchantedness with both the Republican and Democratic parties and an unshaken faith in the Progressive Party as an alternative to them.

"Exploiting differences may make bigger newspaper headlines," he says, "but seeking areas of agreement will be more conducive to human progress."

The differences between Rogge and the Communists are not so profound that a little flexibility on the latter's part wouldn't dissolve them peacefully at the convention.

In fact should the Communists choose to fight adoption of his views with enough intensity to split the party, they would seem to provide an impressive demonstration of the contention of so many liberals that they are so narrow and doctrinaire that a united front with them is impossible.

Rogge, for example, condemns the kind of "name-calling" which recently led the American Civil Liberties Union to brand the Civil Rights Congress as a "Communist-dominated agency" without naming it.

The Rogge draft program runs 24 typewritten pages. Its basic theme—always present but never stated concretely—is the failure of the Progressive Party to win wide public support and "build a united front against Fascism."

Rogge deals with the problem of the Communists inside the Wallace movement: almost entirely in terms of the difficulties faced by Abraham Lincoln and other moderate antislavery leaders in living with the more extreme abolitionists inside the newly-formed Republican Party.

Lincoln, he points out, was uncomfortable with the abolitionists and once appealed to Buchanan Democrats to "use us and use our influence to make our party respectable."

Rogge offers a series of citations which are in themselves an interesting study in American political history to show that Lincoln never indulged in "name-calling" and was very careful whether to let the Republican Party fall under the direction of the abolitionists nor repudiate completely their support. It is this careful course of circumspection which Rogge recommends as American Models now.

Like Lincoln, Rogge says, "we are reformers, but we are not radicals."

The basic difference between Rogge and the Communists is that he conceives of himself as a questing, unorthodox mind and they are dogmatists. He doesn't necessarily reject radical solutions, but there is in his program a steady exercise of his right to make up his own mind.

This kind of free thought leads him to express passionate feelings about American failures in foreign policy and race relations. He remains, for example, critical of the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan. He accuses the Democratic administration of "taking us down the road to a fascist form of authoritarianism" with its loyalty program.

In these points his views are generally coincident with those of the Communists.

But he has his points of difference, and their exact effect depends on just how far the Communists will go in contending with a heretic.

The fate of the last experiment in a "united front" between liberals and Communists in this country seems to rest on the outcome of this effort: to assert the authority of Rogge's kind of non-orthodox leftism inside the Progressive Party.

Director, FBI

February 20 1950

SAC, New York

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

With reference to the National Convention of the Progressive Party scheduled to be held in Chicago, Illinois, February 24-26, 1950, [REDACTED] b7D on February 7, 1950 reported that it is rumored that the Progressive Party, under the leadership of O. JOHN ROGERS, former Assistant United States Attorney General, has set up a new draft program designed to show to the public that the Progressive Party is not a radical party, and not connected with the Communist Party.

b7D

According to [REDACTED] the new plan of the Progressive Party will be made public at the convention. He reported that the new program will deal with the following:

"1. Communists would be welcomed as active members in the Progressive Party, but would not be permitted to hold positions of leadership.

"2. A public denial will be issued that the Progressive Party is Communist dominated.

"3. A coalition of all left-of-center forces and those who place human rights first.

"4. In an attempt to move the Progressive Party in the right direction, an invitation will be extended to all true liberals who have shunned the party because of its Communist tinge. ENDS is prepared for a fight with the pro-Communist wing of the Progressive Party, in an effort to win outright control of the party.

SPECIAL DELIVERY

cc: Chicago, AND

NY 100-3522 (ALP)

NY 100-25257 (PAUL ROBESON)

NY 100-20789 (W.E.B. DUBoIS)

NY 100-55629 (ESLANDE ROBESON)

NY 100-90589 (RAY LEV)

NY 100-70717 (CP POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

NY-100-70453 (O. JOHN ROGERS)

NY 62-8339 (P + C)

NY 100-34032 (LOUIS E. BURNHAM)

SECURE

100-95459-45

100-95459-45

Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-24070

"5. The Progressive Party shall not align itself with either the Republican or Democratic Parties.

"6. The differences between the Communist Party and the Progressive Party shall not be so sharp that a little flexibility on the part of the Communist Party can't settle the issues, but on the other hand, if the Communist Party chooses to fight the adoption of this program, and attempts to split the Progressive Party, then the Progressive Party would take the stand that a united front with the Communist Party is impossible."

b7D

According to [redacted] at the convention resolutions will be drawn up critizing the failures of American Foreign Policy and race relations. Attention will be directed to the Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Pact as demonstrations of the failure of American Foreign Policy, and to the lack of any P.P.C. legislation to demonstrate the failure with reference to race relations. [redacted] said that the convention will also express itself against the Democratic Administration, alleging that it is bringing about a police state with its Loyalty program.

The "Worker" of February 12, 1953 (Section I, page 8, column 4) contains an article with reference to Progressive Party preparations for the National Convention. The article notes that LOUIS E. BURKHAM, identified as Southern Director of the Progressive Party, has just returned from a tour of the South, where he undertook to assist in preparing delegations for the convention. BURKHAM reportedly estimated that there would be delegates from Progressive Party organizations from at least ten Southern states, and that only Mississippi and Arkansas were unlikely to be represented.

The article noted that BURKHAM was interviewed at Progressive Party Headquarters in New York City, together with GEORGE S. MURPHY, JR., identified as Assistant to the Party's National Secretary, G. R. BAILEY. According to the article, both BURKHAM and MURPHY rose to national prominence as a result of "leadership they have given to the liberation struggles of the negro people".

MURPHY reportedly said, "The convention will push the fight not only for P.P.C., but for the other Civil Rights measures, including the anti-poll tax bill, which has already passed the House. . . . It will also press the battle for municipal fair employment ordinances and for getting

Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-94070

"local city councils to authorize Congress and State Legislatures to pass such legislation." SUPERT reportedly declared that a major part of the convention discussions on the 1950 Congressional elections will be devoted to increasing negro representation in Congress. He said that the report on the coming elections will be given by Representative VITO MANGANOTTO, who is identified in the article as the head of the Party's Congressional Campaign Committee.

The article notes that CHARLES P. HARRIS, leading Iowa negro publisher and Secretary of the Campaign Committee, will report specifically on the fight for negro representatives in Congress.

EARL DICKERSON, former negro City Councilman in Chicago, is identified in the article as the individual who will be co-chairman of the convention, and SENORA B. LANSOY, first negro to run for the Virginia House of Delegates, is identified as the person who will be permanent Secretary. Mr. E. Y. B. DUQES is named as the person who will head the Resolutions Committee. It is noted that DUQES is Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs. Others mentioned in the article are Mrs. ELLIOTT ROBERTS, who will reportedly deliver a major address on China, and her husband, PAUL ROBERTS, who will also "play a leading convention part". The article notes that DAY LEV will join ROBERTS in giving a concert at the convention. It is noted that DAY LEV is active in the American Labor Party in New York City.

With reference to the situation in the South, SUPERNUM reportedly said that there is a TROWIK wing and a Dixiecrat wing crystallizing in the states. He alleged that the TROWIK wing runs from the issue of the negro rights every time the Dixiecrats open their mouths, and that there are no major Democratic party elements in the South who are forthrightly for civil rights. He reportedly said that the Progressive Party's central aim is to defeat the Dixiecrat movement through strengthening relations with the negro people, the workers, and the poor farmers. He said that specific tactics to bring about this result would be the job of the convention.

GEORGE R. KURT, JR. reportedly said "The projected makeup of the convention emphasizes the extent to which the Progressive Party has won the political validity for the Negro Party."

Letter to Director, FBI
at 100-46070

For the information of the Chicago Office, and for use in the preparation of its report relative to the convention, the following identifying information concerning individuals prominently mentioned as being in positions of leadership is being set forth:

PAUL ROBESON

During April, 1944, former Confidential Informant [REDACTED] b7D
[REDACTED] who is regarded as being of known reliability, advised that PAUL ROBESON was a member of the Communist Party under the name of JAMES THOMAS.

The July 15, 1949 edition of the "Washington Times Herald", a Washington, D.C. newspaper, carried an article entitled, "Robbers Tell ROBESON Is Veteran Red". This article reports that BANKING JOHNSON, an ex-Communist Party leader, told Congress on July 14, 1949 that PAUL ROBESON has been a member of the Communist Party for many years. JOHNSON said he had met ROBESON frequently at Communist Party Headquarters in New York, where ROBESON held secret meetings with EARL FRIEDMAN, MILLIE E. FOSTER, JACK STACHEL and J. PITKIN.

The "Evening Star", Washington, D.C. newspaper, under date of June 15, 1949 carried an article entitled, "Soviet Is Country I Love Above All, ROBESON Quoted", date lined June 15th at London. This article reflects that ROBESON was quoted as telling an interviewer from the official Tass News Agency, "I am thoroughly happy that I am able to travel from time to time to the USSR, the country I love above all."

H. L. P. PURVIS

b7D

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advises that PURVIS is Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The "New York Times" of August 26, 1949 contains an article "Russia Fully Opens in Recco With Key Attacks Against U.S.", wherein it is set forth that an "all Russian conference of peace partisans" had opened on August 25, 1949, and that there were present some 1500 persons, including

Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-94070

foreign guests. The article noted that Professor R. E. B. DUROIS was among the foreign guests. According to the article, JASHPH STALIN and other members of the Politburo were elected honorary members of the Presidium of this conference.

MARY ROBISON, also known as Mrs. PAUL ROBISON

The "New York Times" of September 10, 1949 identified Mrs. PAUL ROBISON as a speaker at the American Continental Congress for Peace, held in Mexico City September 5-10, 1949.

MARY ROBISON, 270 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City, author of "World Communism Today", whose identity should be protected by a temporary symbol, and who is regarded to be of known reliability, advised that in his opinion the American Continental Congress for Peace was a follow-up of similar Congresses held in Russia, Poland, Paris, France, and New York, New York, and was part of the world wide Communist inspired "peace" propaganda campaign.

SA JOHN RYAN

On November 9, 1949 SA's JAMES J. McCARTHY and NICHOLAS S. GOLDSCHMIDT attended a debate between C. JOHN ROGGE and VICTOR RIBBLE, a columnist for the "New York Daily Mirror", at the East Midwood Jewish Center, 23 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. During the course of the debate, ROGGE repeatedly criticised the loyalty investigations, the Smith Act, the Taubman Law, the trial of the eleven National Board Members of the Communist Party, the espionage trial of ALGER HIRSCH and of JULIA COPLON, the Attorney General's subversive list, and restriction on "freedom of thought and association". He emphasised that Fascism, and not Communism, is a threat to America. He stated that loyalty investigations were directed against people who think for themselves, and that they were directed against negroes and Jews, and "anti-semitism is good insurance for a Government job." With respect to the eleven National Board Members of the Communist Party, ROGGE said that it was a trial of doctrine and of the writings of KARL MARX and of LEON "men who are now dead". He also said that neither ALGER HIRSCH nor JULIA COPLON nor the eleven Communist Party leaders were receiving fair trials.

SA ROBERT F. WHALEY

The report of SA ROBERT F. WHALEY, dated February 20, 1947, states:

Letter to Director, FBI
File 100-96070

Birmingham, Alabama, in the case entitled, "LOUIS EVERETT BURNHAM, et al.; INTERNAL SECURITY - C", sets forth information received from Confidential Informant #185, that on April 30, 1944 BURNHAM held a closed meeting of the Communist Party at his home at 853 Second Street North, Birmingham, Alabama. The reliability of this informant is not set forth in the report.

EARL R. TICKERSON

The "New York World Telegram and The Sun" of February 14, 1950 contains an article under the by-line of PATRICK KOLINSK, regarding the NAACP, wherein KOLINSK states that TICKERSON is being groomed for the Presidency of the New York City Branch of the NAACP. KOLINSK identifies TICKERSON as a Chicago lawyer who ran for Congress on the "WALLACE-Communist ticket in 1948", and says that currently TICKERSON is backing the Communist Party's campaign against the contempt sentences meted out by Judge HAROLD A. MEDINA to the defense attorneys in the trial of the eleven Communist Party National Board Members.

The foregoing is being furnished for your information.

Unite Against Reaction

By G. JOHN ROGGE

Mr. Rogge, a former Assistant Attorney General of the U. S., today concludes his plea for a union of all progressives — using the word in its broadest sense — on the basis of their points of agreement, regardless of their differences on other issues and regardless of name-calling from without or within. He has cited Lincoln's willingness to fuse with the Abolitionists in the early days of the Republican party, even though their position on slavery went far beyond his own.

Those of us who are today trying to build the Progressive Party can take some more pointers from Lincoln. Having drafted a program which places human rights first and which is not a radical one, and having made these things plain, we must then extend our hands to all those who agree with us on our basic issues, although they may disagree with us on many other points.

A unified front by its very name implies a union of people of varying shades of opinion. Just as people with varying opinions about slavery successfully formed the Republic Party by fusing behind one broad issue — opposition to the extension of slavery to the territories — so today people with varying opinions as to how to solve our current problems must unite behind a common approach — one which places human beings first and take a one-world, United Nations view.

Lincoln in his time did not want to offend even the Americans, or Know-Nothings, although he had always been certain of one thing and that is that he could never be one. As he wrote in a letter of Aug. 24, 1855:

"I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people?"

Nevertheless, Lincoln did not want to offend even them, for he wanted even them to join the Republican Party. And many of them did.

A Word of Caution

When he was running for President in 1860, some of the opposition started spreading the story that he had been in an American or Know-Nothing lodge in Quincy, Ill. On July 21, 1860, he wrote to his friend, Abraham Jones of Quincy and, after suggesting that an affidavit or two from reputable local people "would put the matter at rest," concluded:

"And now, a word of caution. Our adversaries think they can gain a point, if they could force me to openly deny the charge, by which some degree of offense would be given to the American. For this reason, it must not."

likely appear that I am paying any attention to the charge."

Having made it plain that the Progressive Party is not a radical party and is not a Communist party, we are not thereafter continually going about and beating our breasts and proclaiming that we are not Communists. Rather we are going to concentrate on the issues involved, and again cite Lincoln.

In 1860 when Lincoln was running for President, George T. M. Davis, a well-to-do New York businessman, wanted Lincoln to say something which would quiet alarm in the South. Lincoln wrote him: "What is it I could say which would quiet alarm? Is it that no interference by the Government with slaves or slavery within the states is intended? I have said this so often already that a repetition of it is but mockery, bearing an appearance of weakness, and cowardice, which perhaps should be avoided. Why do not uneasy men read what I have already said — and what our platform says? If they will not read, or heed, then, would they read, or heed, a repetition of them? Of course the declaration that there is no intention to interfere with slaves or slavery in the states, with all that is fairly implied in such declaration, is true; and I should have no objection to make, and repeat the declaration a thousand times, if there were no danger of encouraging bold bad men to believe they are dealing with one who can be scared into anything."

To all people in this country who have faith in human beings I say: leave whatever parties or groups you may be in, for they will not help you, and come over to the Progressive Party. Help us build a peoples' party. Help us put a peoples' government and a peoples' President in office, to the end that we may solve our problems, work for peace, strengthen the United Nations and free human beings from all forms of oppression and authoritarianism, that their development and achievements may be as infinite as the

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ccB

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Congress

FEB 2 1 1950

NEW YORK, N.Y.

February 28, 1950

280

RE: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN
SOVIET FRIENDSHIP;
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On February 21, 1950, Confidential Informant #318 advised that T.D. BAYER of NCASF was contacted by an individual named "LOUIE". He informed BAYER that (PAUL) ROBESON, (W.E.B.) DU BOIS, BISHOP (ARTHUR) MULTON and (O. JOHN) HOGGE were contemplating a trip to Scotland but could give no further information on this trip.

C. DONALD STAMPLE
Special Agent

cc: 100-25857 (ROBESON)
100-95459 (O. JOHN HOGGE)
100-50045 (BAYER)

DDSM:mat
100-7518

100-95459-40

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White Against Fascism

By CLARENCE ROGGE



ROGGE

From the windows of my home I have watched the new home of the United Nations on New York's East River rise rapidly to the skies. As I watched I reflected that human beings, who can do so much constructive work in so short a space of time, could also, if we unshackled ourselves from our irrational fears and motivations, transform the face of the earth, have our green pastures right here, reach new peaks, see undreamed-of horizons, and explore while living the heavens as well as the earth. The future attainments of this animal we call human are unimaginable, if we can but free ourselves from the dead hands of the past.

One of the ways of meeting the problems which now confront us on the road to human maturity is for all who believe that human rights come ahead of property rights to look for areas of agreement, to select issues all can agree upon.

To all who put human rights first I say this: instead of allowing others to exploit, and instead of deceiving ourselves into thinking that we can exploit differences among us, let us rather seek points upon which we can all agree. Instead of taking a negative approach and tragically allowing ourselves to be splintered into helplessness, let us take a positive one and successfully build a united political front against fascism.

Exploiting differences may make bigger newspaper headlines, but seeking areas of agreement will be more conducive to human progress.

To show what can be done by uniting behind issues, I shall take as a starting point the reversal of the conviction of the six Negroes in Trenton, N. J. Then I shall go back to the period from 1845 to 1860 and draw some analogies from the successful formation of the Republican Party by a fusion of those with varying kinds, shades and degrees of anti-slavery sentiment. The fusion was behind one broad issue: opposition to the extension of slavery to the territories. In nearly every analogy I draw I shall use some of Lincoln's own words.

The six Negroes in Trenton spent long months in the Death House, convicted on extorted confessions for a crime they did not commit. The united efforts of the Civil Rights Congress, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Lawyers Guild and

CCB
Jennings Perry is on vacation. His column will be resumed in this space on Feb. 21.

of many people obtained a reversal of this miscarriage of justice. The organization which took the laboring oar was the Civil Rights Congress and to it is due the largest amount of the credit. But the efforts of all counted in the successful result. The Trenton case is an illustration of what united action can accomplish. The same thing will prove true in the political field.

Now, the organizations which helped win the Trenton case do not always see eye to eye with each other. Indeed, that is an understatement. The ACLU and the NAACP have been critical of the Civil Rights Congress, and the Civil Rights Congress in its turn has been critical of them. The ACLU, in its current annual report, indulged in a bit of name-calling and referred to the Civil Rights Congress,

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BY N. Y. DIVISION

from an un-American self-help committee and from an Attorney General such as Tom Clark, who gave us four blacklists of organizations, but it is un-American in organizations which profess to put human rights above property rights.

The name-calling to which the ACLU resorted in this instance is of a piece with Clark's blacklisting of organizations, to which the ACLU, as it was bound to do, objected in its own report. There is too much name-calling these days and not enough attention paid to the issues involved.

The other day I chaired a meeting of an organization which for some weeks had been following the negative instead of the positive approach. There had been several meetings taken up with almost interminable arguments over differences. The meeting at which I presided was a continuation of a meeting that had lasted until after midnight. I suggested that we start the other way about. I suggested that we first explore areas of agreement, that we first list the issues and outline a program upon which we could all agree. For some four hours or more I kept the group working on the areas of agreement. It was difficult at times. First one and then another would try to get into the differences. Some insisted that we could not separate the differences from the issues and program upon which we were gradually agreeing. I remained adamant. I ruled the attempts to get into differences out of order. As the meeting proceeded, the areas of agreement kept expanding. We finally reached such large areas of agreement that we were then able to dispose of our differences by compromises.

In the political field we must do what we did in the Trenton case, what we did in the meeting I chaired: unite behind issues upon which we can agree. Thereafter we must stand our ground, fight with courage, and not allow ourselves to be scared or stampeded when someone starts name-calling.

(Continued tomorrow)

2. Progressive Party Debate

Reportedly, the debate within the Progressive Party is expected to become sharper as a result of the completion of the draft of a program prepared by O. John ROGGE, a devoted Wallace follower. It is stated that ROGGE hopes that his program will "make it plain that the Party is not a radical party and not a Communist Party". ROGGE's views will be circulated privately among a number of non-Communist Progressive Party leaders in an attempt to muster support prior to the Party's convention, scheduled to be held in Chicago on 24 February 1950. Adoption of the program would commit the Progressive Party, for the first time in its two years existence, to the position that the Soviet Union is not above criticism, and that Progressive Party members have a right to support Tito. This contention has resulted in a number of Wallaceites, including ROGGE, being privately criticized by the more pro-Soviet wing in the Progressive Party. ROGGE's program would not bar Communists, but rather would welcome them as active members with the limitation that the Progressive Party be in charge of "Progressives and not Communists".

DIO-3ND COMMENT: Appears to be an attempt to make the Progressive Party attractive to those who have shied away from it because of its total conformity with the CP line.

O.N.I.-3ND 2/9/50

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FEB 23 1950

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Dictables Ask Visas for Peace Deleg;

'arman' was Committee of Americans to send peace delegation to 15 distinguished women from Latin America, who had come to petition Congress for release and the proposed. The request was made by Rev. Walter Boston University.

The delegation included: Dr. Thomas Mann, Nobel prize novelist; Rev. Victoria Booth Demarest, president, World Association of Mothers for Peace; Artur Schnabel, pianist; Dr. Linus Pauling, director, Gates and Crellin Chemical Laboratories at California Institute of Technology; Lion Feuchtwanger, novelist; Prof. E. Franklin Frazier of Howard University; Prof. F. O. Matthiessen, of Harvard University; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, a founder of the NAACP; Max Weber, painter; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Ann Revere, film actress, and Rabbi David Grauman of Chicago.

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Rev. Walter
Boston Univer.

Heading the world peace delegation is Pablo Picasso, world famous painter. Also from France are delegates Jean Lurcat, painter, and Prof. Eugene F. Aubel who holds the chair of Biological Chemistry at the University of Paris.

Delegation members from Italy are Prof. Antonio Olivo, biologist at the University of Bologna; Madame Pina Palumbo and Mr. Cassadei, members of the Italian Senate.

Belgium is sending Prof. Max Cosyns, atomic physicist and Switzerland, Hans Erni, painter.

The Soviet Union delegates will be Alexander I. Oparin, one of the

foremost biologists in the Soviet Academy of Science, and Sergi A. Gerasimov, film director.

French West Africa will be represented by Monadu Koulibali, member of the French Assembly from the Ivory Coast; and Cuba, by Dr. Domingo Villamil, Catholic lawyer and writer, and Lazaro Pena, labor leader.

The delegation is sponsored by the World Peace Conference, whose headquarters are in Paris. Similar delegations will simultaneously present their petitions for peace to the heads of state and the parliaments of Italy, France, Great Britain, the USSR, Belgium, the

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FBI - NEW YORK

ACLU Urges Gov't Give Visa to Picasso

The American Civil Liberties Union yesterday urged the State Department to grant entry visas to the world peace delegation "in accordance with historic and fundamental U. S. policy in favoring freedom of information and travel." In Washington, a Daily Worker correspondent, querying the department on its intention, was informed by a spokesman that the delegation headed by artist Pablo Picasso was a "Commie front" and would therefore be denied visas. However, no decision has yet been reached, it was indicated.

The ACLU's view was expressed in a letter to Secretary of State Dean Acheson by John Haynes Holmes, chairman of the board, Patrick M. Malin, director, and Edward Ennis, chairman of the committee on aliens' civil rights.

Meanwhile, as Picasso and 16 other peace delegates awaited word on their visas, the World Peace Congress said they were preparing to leave Europe by plane tomorrow.

APPLIED ON FEB. 25

Applications for their visas were made Feb. 25, O. John Fogg, speaking for the welcoming committee, said. The committee is composed of 135 prominent leaders in church, scientific and cultural fields.

Wires to the State Department from our committee and from a group of 18 of the country's outstanding artists have as yet brought

Kent, Steel on Peace Mission to USSR

PARIS, March 2.—Artist Rockwell Kent and writer Johannes Steel will leave here for Moscow tomorrow to be part of a 15-man peace mission to the Soviet government, it was learned today.

Daily Worker

3/3/50 p. 2 Col. 1

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FBI - NEW YORK
MAR 13 1950

**Rogge Leaves for Moscow
To Present Peace Plea**

John Rogge, former Assistant Attorney General, left LaGuardia Field yesterday for Paris en route to Moscow, where, he said, he expects to address the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) in a world peace appeal.

Mr. Rogge said that he is on the executive committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, and that he planned to join members of the committee leaving from Paris for Moscow.

"I hope to be able to appear before the Parliament and make proposals on the outlawing of atomic

weapons and of all weapons of mass destruction, and on the necessity of a world disarmament program," he said.

Mr. Rogge said he hadn't completely outlined his proposed speech and that he did not know whether he would be able to advance any new ideas on the international crisis. He left on board a Trans World Airline plane at 3:02 p. m.

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RECEIVED FROM THE
Kenneth Tolson
MAR 5 1950

Rogge Flies to Moscow To Talk Peace—Maybe

By William Murtha and Jerinit Jaediker

O. John Rogge, a Progressive Party policy-maker, flew yesterday on an unofficial mission-to-Moscow in the hope of presenting the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) with peace proposals—in a speech that won't be Red-pencilled.

"I will say anything I think," he declared when asked at LaGuardia Field if the address, assuming he makes it, would be censored.

He said he was going at the invitation of the World Congress of



O. John Rogge
An olive branch for Stalin.

Defenders of Peace, of which he is a vice president. The president of the outfit is Frederic Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist—and a Commie.

Represents Himself.

Rogge said he did not consult with Henry Wallace's Progressive Party or any other American group before deciding to accept the invitation.

"You really represent yourself, don't you?" he was asked.

"Yes."

He said that he believed he would be able to make the uncensored speech tomorrow or Tuesday and that he would write it en route.

He'll pause in Paris, he said, to pick up 14 other members of the congress. He and the 14 form a committee whose stated purpose was, he said he thought, to urge Russia to join in a program to outlaw atomic weapons.

Has Ambitious Plans.

"I will go further than that," he asserted. "I would outlaw all weapons of national destruction and urge universal disarmament. Communists and capitalists can live in peace."

Rogge, a former Assistant U. S. Attorney General, said he would present his peace gimmick to whomsoever he meets in Moscow. He said that if he addressed the Supreme Soviet, it would be as spokesman for his committee of 15.

Denies He's Commie.

Rogge emphatically denied that he was a Communist, pointed out that he had had disagreements with the comrades and that he supported Yugoslavia in "its effort to work out its own solution."

He completely rejected what he called President Truman's "H-bomb diplomacy" because, he said, it would lead to destruction. He said he'd support a program of compromise—"of trust in Russia." The trust-Russia program, he admitted, might lead to destruction, too, but he thought that was less likely.

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Rogge Flies to Russia On Peace Mission

On Saturday, John Rogge, former assistant U. S. Attorney General, was flying to Moscow, where with 14 other members of a World Peace Congress mission, he will present a peace program to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Rogge left LaGuardia Airport on a TWA plane at 8 p.m. Saturday, just one day after the United States government refused entry to a delegation prepared to present the identical peace proposals to Congress.

These proposals call for disarmament and the outlawing of atomic weapons. Peace missions to many countries include scientists, artists, writers and others. Rogge is going to Moscow as a vice-president of the Peace Congress.

The delegation to Moscow includes two other Americans, Rockwell Kent, artist, and Johannes Steel, commentator. The delegation to the U. S. was to be headed by Pablo Picasso, world-famed artist.

At press conference before his departure, a reporter asked Rogge what made him think that the Russians want peace and that they'll listen to his proposals? He replied: "Well, they're letting us in Russia to listen to the proposals. That's more than our government

did with Picasso's delegation." Rogge urged a "compromise" between the Baruch and Viskinsky proposals for atom control.

Asked whether he believes in working with Communists, he replied:

"There are a lot of Communists in the world, and I don't see how we're going to have peace unless we do work with them." He added that that meant working with them inside the U. S. as well as internationally.

Asked whether that did not mean he was opposed to America's foreign policy, Rogge said: "I'm against H-bomb policy. I'm for working out some sensible compromise between America and Russia that will help keep the world at peace."

Challenged to admit that he prefers "the Soviet policy to the American policy," Rogge told the reporters, "I prefer peace. I don't think that's only the Soviet policy. Americans and other peoples, too, want peace no matter what the policy of our present administration may be."

Rogge noted that he has publicly stated his disagreements with Soviet policy and with American Communists. He added that his invitation to Moscow and the continued readiness of American Communists to work jointly shows that they "are willing to work" with people who disagree with them but who want peace.

Rogge expressed his belief that communism and capitalism can live in peace.

Asked if he expected to address the Supreme Soviet, Rogge explained that the delegation will

submit the peace proposal to the Soviet parliament and that he could not say which person would be designated by the group to speak. If he were assigned, Rogge said, he would like to add to the program for abolition of atomic weapons his own personal plea for outlawing all weapons of "national destruction."

Daily Worker
9/6/60 P. 5 Col. 1

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FBI - NEW YORK
MURKIN

Cullen 86

Rogge in Kremlin Address Appeals for Free Speech

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 8—Standing in the great white marble and gold St. George's Hall of the Kremlin, O. John Rogge, former United States Assistant Attorney General, today quoted Thomas Jefferson to a distinguished Soviet audience and offered a personal plan for resolution of the Soviet-American atomic conflict.

The words to which Mr. Rogge directed the attention of his Soviet auditors were those of Jefferson's plea for tolerance of those who differ from the majority. Jefferson's words were:

"If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left to combat it."

Mr. Rogge's address was made in the course of presentation to the presidents of the bicameral Supreme Soviet of a plea by the Permanent Committee of Partisans of Peace for reduction of armaments and outlawing of the atom bomb.

Mr. Rogge called on both Russians and Americans to halt exploiting differences and start exploiting areas of agreement. "The Americans must stop blaming the Communists, and the Russians must stop blaming the capitalist imperialists," he said.

Later, elaborating his remarks in a lively press conference exchange with David Zaslavsky, leading Soviet editorialist, Mr. Rogge said:

"My idea of a free society is one in which the world over people can say what they think and believe what they like. A Communist should be able to get up in a capitalist country and say communism is better. A capitalist should be able to say the same thing in a Communist country."

Offering his personal atomic plan, Mr. Rogge declared that somewhere between the Baruch and Vishinsky plans a compromise must be found. He proposed establishment of a United Nations

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ROGGE, IN MOSCOW, ASKS FREE SPEECH

Continued From Page 1

body including both large and small nations with "unlimited powers of inspection not only of all atomic installations but of all armed forces and military bases in any country anywhere in the world." This body would inspect but not control atomic facilities and would publish its findings regularly.

He said that this would relieve all nations of virtually all necessity for military intelligence or counterintelligence since all the world's military information would be universally published.

Mr. Rogge suggested that this immediately would end the war tension and pave the way for general reduction of armaments and turning of the world to peacetime pursuits. He said at some later date he hoped to return to Russia to inspect her peacetime uses of atomic energy and cooperative farms and report to the American people.

In the discussion with Mr. Zaslavsky, Mr. Rogge said he thought Communists should be allowed to advocate their ideas in the United States "and by the same token in other parts of the world there should be the same freedom for people to urge whatever they may think—just as Zaslavsky and I are doing."

Rockwell Kent, artist and co-delegate of the Peace Partisans with Mr. Rogge, charged that American concern over freedom in the Soviet Union was merely a "smokescreen or dose of poison" behind which hatred of Russia was organized. He said that the United States had maintained friendly relations with Czarist Russia despite Czarist oppressions and that every nation had the "right to establish its own freedoms or lack of freedom."

Canadian delegate James Merrick said that the American press should "stop lying about Russia." He quoted a NEW YORK TIMES Paris dispatch as having asserted that the Russo-Chinese pact provided coolies for Siberia. He added: "This is something THE NEW YOR-

~~TIMES could cure in order to contribute to peace."~~

Moscow's open forum was presented against a background of widening press discussion of questions of atomic controls and relations with the United States. The outstanding development was an assertion by Marshal Klementy E. Voroshilov in an election speech that "Soviet international policy unchangingly follows" concepts outlined by Prime Minister Stalin in May, 1948, to Henry A. Wallace. Mr. Stalin then said the Soviet believed the co-existence of capitalism and communism and "peaceful settlement of differences between the U. S. S. R. and the United States of America are not only possible but unquestionably necessary in the interests of universal peace."

Rogge Says Tito — Was Badly Treated

Stockholm, Mar. 18 (AP)—O. John Rogge, former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, who spoke to members of the Soviet Parliament in the Kremlin last week, said here today he hopes to visit Yugoslavia during his stay in Europe.

Rogge, a leader in the Progressive Party, who has been attending a session here of the World Committee of Peace Partisans, said in an interview that he thought the Cominform had "behaved very improperly against the Yugoslavs."

"The Yugoslavs want me to visit their country and I talked to their people back home before I came here," Rogge said.

At the Kremlin Rogge called for the outlawing of the atomic bomb and unlimited inspection by a U.N. body of approximately the same composition as the Security Council.

"There was no reaction after I spoke," Rogge commented, "and I

did not expect it, either. But anyhow I got the opportunity to present my idea to them."

Rogge is a vice president of the World Committee of Peace Partisans. He said he disagreed with it on two main points: a tendency to put all blame for the cold war on the United States and the practice of contending that the United States is planning war against Russia.

"I think that both sides are to blame for the cold war," Rogge said "but that it's rather senseless to try to assess the blame. We now have this cold war. What we have to do is to see if there is a way to end it."

100-95459-56

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MAR 20 1960	
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CLIPPING FROM THE

London

MAR 22 1960
FBI - NEW YORK

Rogge 'a Bit Warry' Of European Reds

Tired of Barbs Directed at U. S., He Speaks Back

STOCKHOLM, March 16 (AP).—Former United States Assistant Attorney General O. John Rogge said today he is "a little weary of all these denunciations" hurled at America by European Communists.

Mr. Rogge, who recently went to Moscow as vice-president of the World Committee of Peace Partisans and became one of the few foreigners ever to speak before the Supreme Soviet (Parliament), said he disagrees with Communist members of the organization. He declared in an interview he does not believe Communist charges that President Truman is planning a war against Russia.

Mr. Rogge, one of the policy-makers for Henry Wallace's Progressive party, commented particularly on a speech by Frederic Joliot-Curie, Communist atomic energy chief for France, yesterday at the opening of a Peace Partisans conference.

"Irrespective of President Truman's decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb," said Mr. Rogge, "I do not believe that either American leaders are planning any war." Mr. Jules Gortschakoff had told delegates to the conference that "the political leaders are driving their people toward a war with Russia because they have 'no confidence in their own system.'

Mr. Rogge said he disagreed with the World Committee of Peace Partisans on two main points: The tendency to "put all the blame for the cold war upon the United States," and the contention that the United States is planning a war against Russia.

"I think that both sides are to blame for the cold war," he said. "but that it is rather senseless to try to assess the blame. We now have this cold war. What we have to do is to see if there is a way to end it."

F. B. I.

WAR 25 1950

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100-95459-57

Gerald Fabens

DATED 3/12/50

**Rogge Tells Red Rally
U.S. Does Not Want War**

STOCKHOLM, March 18 (AP)—O. John Rogge, former United States Assistant Attorney General, today told the Communist-sponsored World Committee of Peace Partisans that the United States does not want war. His statement came in the midst of furious allegations by committee delegates that the United States is preparing for war against Russia.

Mr. Rogge told the delegates to stop using such words as "blood-thirsty imperialists," "warmongers" and "imperialist war."

"Leaders in the United States, whether in business, finance or government, do not want war," Mr. Rogge said.

Mr. Rogge is a vice-president of the committee. He outlined a proposal for atomic control in an address before the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the U. S. S. R. last week in Moscow.

His advice to the committee constituted one of the few dissenting notes during its four-day session here. It closed tonight with a torchlight procession through Stockholm's labor district.

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MAR 22 1950	
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RECORDED FROM TELEGRAM
Newspaper
MAR 19 1950

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Roggé Seeks Tito-Kremlin Reconciliation

Stockholm, Mar. 21 (Tuesday)
(P)—O. John Rogge, former U. S.
Assistant Attorney General, said
he will go to Yugoslavia today to
do what he can to work out a re-
conciliation between Marshal Tito
and the Kremlin.

Rogge recently visited Moscow with a delegation from the World Committee of Peace Partisans, of which he is a vice-president. The committee concluded a five-day conference here Sunday.

"I shall continue to do what I can to help keep the world at peace," Rogge said.

"That means that I shall do what I can to work out a rapprochement between countries where tension exists. I include Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union."

He said he had been discussing the Tito-Kremlin conflict with Yugoslavs in New York, with Russians in Moscow, and finally with Russians in Stockholm with a view "to finding out how difficult a rapprochement would be."

Tito and the Kremlin have been at odds for nearly two years. The Cominform charged the Yugoslavs were pursuing "nationalistic policies."

Rogge said his discussions were "unofficial and not on the top level."

He added that he had felt it was his duty as an individual to do what he is doing.

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NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MARCH 21, 1950

BUREAU

ROUTINE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT #D 547, ONE EIGHT ON MARCH TWENTY FIFTY, ADVISED THAT ALBERT KAHN, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM EUROPE ON THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS VISION, CONTACTED RICHARD NORFORD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF NCASF AND DISCUSSED HIS TRIP TO EUROPE. NORFORD STATED THAT HE HAD DESIRED TO GO TO EUROPE BUT WAS DENIED PASSPORT. KAHN STATED HE HAD BEEN TO PARIS, RUSSIA AND STOCKHOLM WITH ROGGE AND STATED THAT THERE ARE PLANS TO USE ROGGE ON EXTENSIVE SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS WHEN HE RETURNS. KAHN ADVISED THAT ROCKWELL KENT WAS ELECTED TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF WORLD PEACE CONGRESS. KAHN ALSO STATED THAT ROGGE PROBABLY WOULD GO ON TO BELGRADE. HE, HIMSELF, WAS LEAVING FOR CALIFORNIA FRIDAY, MARCH TWENTY FOUR, FIFTY FOR A SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT. KAHN STATED THAT ROGGE HAS GOOD POSSIBILITIES OF BECOMING NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES.

SCHEIDT

cc: NY 100-17917 (ALBERT KAHN)
NY 100-95459 (O. JOHN ROGGE)
NY 100-94580 (WORLD PEACE CONGRESS)
NY 100-26015 (ROCKWELL KENT)

CTSI:JJC (R7)
100-7518

100-95459-40

New York 7, N.Y.

March 22, 1950

P-101

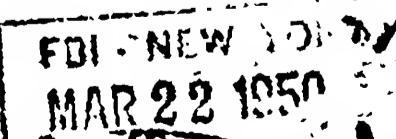
Re: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS,
FEDERAL BUDGET (S) AND
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On March 8, 1950 the following material was received in this office from an anonymous source:

1. A letter on the letterhead of the Writing and Publishing Division of ALP addressed to "Dear Member" and advising that the members of Contemporary Writers voted unanimously to affiliate themselves, as individuals, with the Writing and Publishing Division of ALP. The vote was taken at a membership meeting of Contemporary Writers held on February 20, 1950. The letter is signed by RICHARD EAST and DAVID ALMAN "for the Executive Board, Writing and Publishing Division".
2. Announcement of an open meeting of the Writing and Publishing division of ALP "first since the amalgamation of members of Contemporary Writers with ALP". The meeting was scheduled for February 23, 1950 at the Cornish Arms Hotel, New York City. The agenda included an announcement of an ALP Writers School.

100-61206 (RICHARD EAST)
100-81936 (Contemporary Writers)
100-95459 (D. JOHN LEWIS)
100-8328 (RICHARD BOYD)
100-65576 (DAVID ALMAN)
100-26032 (PHILIP KORNBLUH)

100-95459-61



Memo:

SI 100-93-33

3. Invitation to a cocktail party to meet the instructors of the A.S.P. Writing and Publishing School. The party was to be held on 3/5/50 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. O. JOHN RICHIE, 400 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y.
4. Announcement of the first of a series of Forums sponsored by the Writing and Publishing Division of N.I.A.S.P. to be held 5/8/50 at Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 West 23rd Street, New York City. Topic "The Worker in Literature". Discussion led by KIRKLAND RAY H., journalist and novelist; PHILIP DINE, historian and Harlan F. Trist, trade unionist and writer. The announcement notes that future topics are to be on "the Negro in Literature" and "The Jew in Literature". The card concluded "Bring a can of food for the miners".

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[REDACTED] These are being retained as exhibits in file # [REDACTED]

JOHNSON & CULLUM, INC.

hone Moscow:

Delegate Says

Russians

The ★
WORK

Published by United Press Weekly, Inc., at its
office at New York, N.Y., under the law of

Vol. XV, No. 11
In 2 Sections, Section 1
On Sale Saturday and

Welcome Visit

By Joseph Clark

Rockwell Kent, artist and member of the peace delegation visiting the Soviet Union, told the Daily Worker by telephone Friday that the leaders of the Supreme Soviet expressed "wholehearted support" of the delegation's peace proposals. The delegates had presented the two-point program of the World Partisans of Peace.

- For world disarmament.
- For a ban on atomic weapons.

Kent's remarks were made when the Daily Worker telephoned to Moscow to obtain his report on the results of the peace mission.

The five-minute conversation was enough to convince anyone that there's an

iron curtain in the world today put up by Moscow.

Were any limitations placed on movements in Moscow? the reporter asked Kent. Were all the delegates allowed to say whatever they wanted to say? Kent replied, "No, not at all. We were given a free hand."

NO LIMITATIONS

"There were no limitations placed on us," Kent replied. "Not only that, but we were asked to speak at meetings and public gatherings in Moscow. We spoke to Soviet scientists, medical societies, the art academy, artists, and citizens of every walk of life."

O. John Rogge, Johannes K. Sauer

(Continued on Page 1)

KENT

Daily Worker - Sect. 1
Editorial Dept.

100-95459-62
FBI - NEW YORK
JULY 24 1950

(Continued from Page 1)
from this country, joined with representatives of France, Italy, Britain and Canada in the Moscow delegation. All addressed meetings, a press conference with foreign and domestic newsmen and ordinary Moscow citizens.

"The man in the street feels the way his government does," Kent told us. "We are looking ahead with hope to a life of peace." Kent quoted one Moscow resident.

"And that's what you hear all over, no matter whom you talk to. War is the last thing any man or woman here looks for. The Soviet people are utterly devoted to the cause of peace."

Kent made it clear that Soviet citizens didn't consider it at all strange that persons of different political beliefs should be visiting Moscow and addressing their government as well as its ordinary citizens.

The Russians are as one on question of peace."

Kent said, "and they are happy that others who are not Communists are partisans of peace."

"Folks here look the same as anywhere. There are smiling faces all over. Men and women are warmly and adequately dressed. Not in the height of fashion, but warmly and adequately."

As for Moscow, "new buildings, new construction are going up everywhere," Kent said. "It's a very clean-looking city, the cleanest people and the cleanest city I've seen anywhere."

In reply to another question, prompted by an implication in a New York Post story that the Soviet press was not reporting what Rogge had said before the Soviet parliament, Kent stated that the Moscow press had reported Rogge's speech and everything else said and done by the delegation.

The Daily Worker established telephone contact with Moscow with comparative ease. The overseas operator here put in the call at nine in the morning, but Kent wasn't in his hotel then. At noon (8 p.m. in Moscow) she called us and said she was ready with the call to Moscow. We were able to hear almost everything except the name of the hall where Kent spoke. Evidently Kent could hear us even better than we heard him, because he came back immediately with his answers, and laughed when we couldn't make out his answer at times.

No. 518-3818

REGISTRATION STATEMENT ABSTRACT

518-3818

7/8/50

REGISTRANT'S NAME: Mr. ROGER FABRICANT, GORDON & GOLDMAN

Address: 100-401 Broadway, New York 13, New York No. of employees:

idence address:

Business address:

Business personality: American business law firm

If registrant is a partnership, names of partners; if a corporation or association, names of officers:

John Logga - Partner

Harbarth Fabricant - Partner

Murray A. Gordon - Partner

Robert H. Goldman - Partner

PRINCIPAL TITLE (Title for each one - use reverse side if necessary)

Permanent Mission of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the U.N.

Address: 100-85A Fifth Avenue, New York, New York

Business personality: Yugoslav diplomatic mission to the U.N.

Business: Government

Additional information: To act as general legal counsel to the Permanent Mission of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations or any other agency of the Yugoslav Government in the New York State. Services will include general advice, counsel and research on public international, federal, state law with which the Mission or agency may be concerned, and which it may need in connection with any agency or branch of the U.N., as well as representation of the Mission or agency in Federal, State or International Court or other similar bodies.

100-95459-63

Call World Peace Congress in Italy

The permanent committee of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace, meeting in Stockholm last week, has decided to hold a world peace congress in Italy some time in fall. Albert E. Kahn, who attended the Stockholm session, said in his return yesterday that a new quest will be made to the U. S. State Department to admit a peace mission to this country.

The permanent committee, Kahn said, believes that the State Department, which refused the first request, "misunderstands the universal character" of the movement for peace.

Kahn said the committee agreed at "all honest persons, whatever their opinion on the origin of international tensions" will be urged to take part in the Peace Congress.

Italy. The one "fundamental point of agreement" expected will be on the banning of atomic weapons and the banning of the first government to use such weapons a war criminal.

The first world peace congress, held in Paris last year, saw a tremendous outpouring of peace supporters from all over the world, despite action by a number of gov-

ernments to prevent delegates from attending.

"The people of Europe, in all walks of life and of all shades of opinion, are talking - and organizing - for peace, not war," Albert E. Kahn declared.

Kahn was last in Europe during the spring of 1949. Estimating the changes in the struggle for peace, he commented: "There has developed a vast upsurge." He said that "there are 30,000 peace committees now actively working in Italy alone."

The Stockholm meeting was attended by 150 delegates from 30 countries who spoke in the name of some 800,000,000 persons organized in the peace movement.

STEP UP DRIVE
Jean Laffite, executive secretary of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace, reported that the peace movement throughout the world has grown greatly. At the same time, he warned, the war danger is no less. He, and the general discussion and conclusions of the Stockholm session, emphasized the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two social systems.

Stockholm mass rally heard

Prof. Joliot-Curie, Nobel Prize scientist and president of the World Congress; Pietro Nenni, Italian Left Socialist leader; Soviet writers Alexander Fadeyev and Ilya Ehrenbourg, and a recorded message from Paul Robeson.

The American delegation consisted of Kahn, Dr. John Rogge, Johannes Steel, and Rockwell Kent. Kent was elected a member of the world peace committee and one of the international jury who will award the annual peace prizes to be granted by the Congress.

Rogge, who, along with the other American delegates, addressed the peace meeting, described the reception given the peace meeting, described the reception given the peace mission to the administration. Kahn pointed out

Soviet Union, on which he served. His statement, however, that the U. S. and Soviet governments share equal blame for the cold war and his expressed belief that U. S. industrial and political chieftains do not want war was challenged by Kahn.

Rogge, who criticized Communists for using such terms as "imperialists" and "warmongers," was reminded that his own book "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties" exposes the character of the men who have taken over our government, their tieups with the Nazis and the manner in which they menace the peace of the world. The danger of war emanates primarily from the present policies of the Truman administration. Kahn pointed out

100-95459-64
FBI - NEW YORK
MAR 28 1950

Daily Worker
1936-50-1

New York, New York
April 3, 1950

MEMO:

RE: WORLD PEACE CONGRESS
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The 3/17/50 issue of the Cominform Bulletin, "For a Lasting Peace; for a People's Democracy" contains an article on page 1 regarding the delegation from the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress which was received in the USSR during March, 1950.

The article notes that on March 8, the delegation was received in the Great Kremlin Palace by I.A. PARFENOV, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union and by V.V. EIZENSTEIN, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. At a press conference held by the Permanent Committee, according to the article, A. A. SURKOV, YVES FARGE, JAMES ENDICOTT, ROCKWELL KENT, JOHN ROGGE, JOHANNES STEELE, MALADOU KONATE and LUC SO D'ASTIER de la VIGERIE were among the spokesmen.

This issue of the Cominform Bulletin is on file in 100-89695.

JOSEPH A. CULLEN, SA

DO-KI 100-95459 (John Rogge)
RI 100-26015 (Rockwell Kent)
NY 100-90048 (Johannes Steele)

JAC:LEN
100-89695

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100-95459-65
APR 3 1950

New York, New York.
April 5, 1950.

MEMO.

Re: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP;
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On March 24, 1950 Confidential Informant ND 518 advised that THEODORE BAYER had signed a lease with Carnegie Hall for a peace meeting on April 18, 1950. The informant advised that the speakers would be O. JOHN ROGGE, ROCKWELL KENT, JOHANNES STEEL, and someone representing the NCASF.

The writer believes that NCASF has signed the lease and will supply a speaker but that the program will not be sponsored by the NCASF.

C. DONALD STAMPLE
SA

cc: 100-26015 (Rockwell Kent)
100-95459 (O. John Rogge)
62-6912 (Johannes Steel)
100-50984 (Theodore Bayer)

100-95459-66

F. B. I.

APR 5 1950

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100-7518

New York, New York.
April 5, 1950.

MEMO.

Re: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP;
INTERNAL SECURITY [] C

On March 28, 1950, Confidential Informant ND 518 advised that RICHARD MORFORD had informed him that arrangements had been made for a central meeting at Manhattan Centre for April 12, 1950 on the return of the delegates from Europe. The informant advised that the American-Russian Institute had put a bid in for the twelfth for STEEL which he considered the most important bid this time. MORFORD stated that STEEL was due to arrive in New York City on March 28, 1950 or March 29, 1950.

MORFORD advised also that ROCKWELL KENT was back in the United States.

C. DONALD STAMPLE
SA

cc: 100-46163 (Richard Morford)
100-95459 (O. John Rogge)
100-26015 (Rockwell Kent)
62-6912 (Johannes Steel)

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Feathers From the Left Wing

Comment on Stultified Soviet Literature, Harold Laski, Acheson's Policy Speeches
By Rodney Gilbert

ALEXANDER WERTH is a former Moscow correspondent, for "The Manchester Guardian," if I remember rightly. For some time past he has been moving about Eastern Europe, contributing frequently to "The Nation." In reply to an inquiry that I addressed to another former Moscow resident some months ago, I was assured that he was a well qualified and honest observer, but that "he is a man who never burns his bridges." Well, I believe that he has done it now. He has written an article for "The Nation" on "Soviet Writing Today," which he says is "without salt or flavor." "It is difficult to see how the most patriotic and anti-cosmopolitan Soviet reader can fail to be bored by some of the works given the place of honor in recent issues of Soviet literary magazines." He cites a novel that is all about increasing production, and says: "The happy ending in which the best male Stakhanovite marries the best female Stakhanovite is scarcely enough to arouse enthusiasm for this totally unreadable story."

Then he turns to a dozen new poems in another literary paper. The place of honor is, of course, given to one that begins, "Greetings to you, beloved Comrade Stalin!" Then there is one on "Mighty Independent China," which he samples thus:

They know of their liberation,
The hills and forests of China
And the waves of the Yangtze
River.

They know how our army of many millions
Vent onward, routing and smashing the enemy.
And on the golden constellation of their banners

The stars of the Kremlin were reflected.

"It is perhaps symptomatic," he then comments in a paragraph that must be very damaging to his credit in the Red Slavic world, "that . . . these poetic heralds of the progress of world Communism should do almost all their singing about Asia, China, Viet Nam and the like. In all this new poetry, I have seen hardly a single reference to the 'peoples' democracies' of Eastern Europe. A curious inhibition! Do the poets know in their hearts that in these nations Communism is not something to make much of a song?"

plant the faith hitherto embodied in organized religion. . . . In practice this meant that for Laski every evidence of the tightening of Stalin's dictatorship had to be met by extension of one's effort to 'understand,' on some mystical plane, the reason for the further grinding of the Soviet masses. To the extent that Laski's influence was effective among young persons, it undermined their capacity to recognize dictatorship for what it was and blunted their understanding of the tactics of totalitarianism."

A COLUMNIST in "The New Leader" of March 25 has something to say about arms shipments to Europe which I have been wanting to say somewhere myself. Here it is: "From here on out, we're going to be shipping arms and munitions to European signatories to the North Atlantic Pact. Thus far, however, there has been little publicity surrounding the departure of the ships carrying this cargo. Our government ought immediately to let the world know—and proudly, too—that the United States is still 'the arsenal of democracy.' Ships ought to leave with colors flying, bands playing, radio spot coverage, send-off speeches from distinguished Americans." There was some talk in Washington a few months ago of having the first token consignment to each nation flown across by especially marked cargo planes, which would circle low over each capital—in the belief that the psychological effect would be something like that of the airlift on the Berliners. But pussyfooting arguments prevailed. As Allan Swim, of "The C. I. O. News," says editorially, we're fighting "a soft cold war."

This reminds me that when "The Daily Worker" throws a little garbage at the C. I. O., it gets it all back from Allan Swim, with a dead cat for interest. Not so long ago "The Daily Worker" addressed to President Philip Murray the ridiculous demand that "The C. I. O. News" cease publishing anti-Semitic car-

toons. Swim came back in his issue of April 3 with a double-barreled retort. He gave all of one page to excerpts from the Jewish Labor Committee's latest report on anti-Semitism in Russia and the victim states, with several cartoons and a little s'cry in a box about the arrest of twenty-eight Jews at a wedding in Romania because they sang the "Hatikvah"—Jewish anthem. Then he gave them his signed editorial which begins: "The Commies really scraped the bottom of the gutter in the latest campaign they've cooked up in an effort to discredit the C. I. O." The tone of that is well sustained for the equivalent of a newspaper column.

THERE have been mixed reactions to Secretary Acheson's west coast speeches, as between publications that are not usually far apart ideologically. The monthly "Progressive" (heir to the LaFollette publication and by no means the voice of Wallace's "Progs"), is passionately in favor of conversations with Stalin, so the first sentence in the April issue reads: "Secretary of State Acheson has served up a new description of United States foreign policy—'total diplomacy,' which, on examination, turns out to be nothing but total sterility." A "New Republic" which came in the same mail says that "Acheson's Berkeley, Calif., speech was accurate but negative. . . . So far as it went it was realistic. . . . But the alternative to co-existence is hydrogen-bomb warfare, et cetera"; but confidence is elsewhere expressed in "the cool, bland, aristocratic Secretary of State's" staying power. It was "The Daily Worker" of March 20, which came up with the most original comment on the speech when it undertook to prove, by printing quotations from Secretary Acheson's speech, and from James Burnham's "The Coming Defeat of Communism," in parallel columns, that Secretary Acheson pinched his seven peace conditions from Burnham. And, believe it or not, the parallelism is striking.

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Rogge Reports Yugoslav Industrialization Gains

O. John Rogge, who returned Wednesday from a two-month tour of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, said yesterday he was convinced that the Yugoslavs were successfully achieving "industrialization of their country for the benefit of the people."

Mr. Rogge, at a press conference in his office at 401 Broadway, said he limited his investigation of Yugoslav affairs to the question of industrialization. He said he was aware that freedom was limited in some respects in Yugoslavia, but contended that "there is more freedom there today than there was under the old regime." He added that freedom has also been restricted in the United States, especially in the last three years, as a "means for preserving the status quo." He said the Yugoslavs defend the limitation of freedom in their country as necessary to preserve the results of their revolution.

Mr. Rogge said he would introduce a resolution at the convention of the National Lawyers Guild this week end placing the guild on record as opposed to the expulsion of the Yugoslav Lawyers Association from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. He said the move to expel the Yugoslavs was part of the attack on Yugoslavia led by the Cominform group of pro-Soviet countries. He said the international association includes lawyers from both sides of the iron curtain, and is devoted to spreading international understanding and peace.

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Kenneth T. Tammie
MAY 5 1950

P. O. JUSTIN writes from Mexico:
such an insatiable appetit
"guilt by association" the Communists
would have shaken him off long ago.
He nearly measeed up their Mexican
peace jamboree with a speech which
they had to edit for two days before
they could let him appear. He intro-
duced a sour note into the recent
Progressive party convention by in-
sisting that Soviet Russia was at
least partly responsible for the cold
war. In Stockholm he shocked the
"Defender of Peace" by declaring:
"I want to say that the leaders in
the United States, whether in busi-
ness, finance or government, do not
want war." But now they are done
with him; for he has, in "The Daily
Worker" of March 29 put it, crossed
"the Yugoslav Rubicon" into Tito-
ism. And now, says the foreign edi-
tor, Joseph Clark, bitterly: "Those
who have vilified Rogge's peace ef-
forts will praise his pro-Tito ac-
tivity."

The Leftist press has been pretty
generally eulogistic of the late Har-
old Laski, only here and there tem-
pering regrets with mild reminders
of his inconsistencies. The Socialist
party's "Call" of March 31 is not
quite so merciful editorially, how-
ever. The editorial writer, Herman
Singer, gives Laski credit for

Rogge Says Liberty Is Cold War Victim

Individual freedom is the foremost victim of the cold war in both the West and the East, former Asst. U. S. Attorney General O. John Rogge, just back from a two-month tour of Europe in which he visited both Moscow and Belgrade, told a press conference here yesterday.

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Rogge confirmed reports first published in this newspaper that he had been retained last January as counsel for "all the Yugoslav agencies here in New York."

"I am fairly hopeful that the world is going to remain at peace," he said, "but that doesn't mean that our difficulties are at an end."

"I disagree with Communists who equate U. S. policy with the Nazi drive toward aggressive war, but I also disagree with the right-wingers who equate Communism with Nazism."

"Big business here favors an armaments race," he declared, "as a means of avoiding economic crisis, but no one really wants war."

Yesterday, Rogge, Albert J.

Kahn and Johannes Steel were honored at a Progressive Party reception in the Hotel Woodstock. About 350 guests heard them make an off-the-record report of their participation, together with Rockwell Kent, in the Congress of World Partisans of Peace at Stockholm and their journey to Moscow and other European capitals in connection with the world peace moment.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois presided at the reception. Among Progressive Party leaders present were Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel, chairman of the women's division; Corliss Lamont, treasurer, and C. B. Baldwin, executive secretary.

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Broadway

By DANTON WALKER

Broadway Beat

The Crime Commission of Greater Miami will be called on to furnish data to the Senatorial committee investigating gambling, etc. . . . The Government of Colombia has hired a New York public relations firm at a retainer fee of \$300,000. . . . Scotland Yard planning to use television to trace missing persons and, also publicize the faces of wanted criminals. . . . Ex-Progressive Party candidate O. John Rogge's visit to Yugoslavia resulted in his appointment as legal adviser to all Yugo agencies in this country. . . . Meiner Henkel, former Nazi Davis Cup player, once teamed with Baron Von Cramm, is still a prisoner of war held by the Russians. . . . Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing unacceptable to New York State Democratic leaders as a gubernatorial candidate "(as the Democratic National Committee has been advised). . . . Rome putting drapes on the famous statues in the Piazza Mattei during Holy Year.

Peter Lorre so seriously ill in Paris that his recovery is doubtful. . . . Denise Darcel goes to Washington to meet Peter Crosby's family when she finishes her Strand Theatre stint May 18. . . . Former cafe singer Gloria Whitney, back in town after her divorce, is now running a dress shop. . . . To the great relief of all their friends, the Uilmont (Monty) Cummings have reconciled. . . . Winthrop Rockefeller showing Jane Wyman around Palm Springs. . . . Arline Judge telling friends that her former husband, Dan Topping, is due from the Coast to take their son to the father-and-son dinner of the NYAC. . . . Jules Stein of MCA joins his wife in Europe next week, after undergoing a slight operation on his face. . . . Groucho Marx's boy Arthur has finished a novel which Simon & Schuster will publish.

* * *

Gene Sarazen will make a personal appearance tour in department stores, modeling the prize-winning sports jacket he designed. . . . Montgomery Clift has leased Allen Prescott's apartment in the E. 80's for a protracted New York visit. . . . Humphrey Bogart says that after the premiere of "In A Lonely Place" he will stand by for Lauren Bacall to finish her film commitments, then take off for a year of travel. . . . Among those set to tour the barn circuit this Summer are Lila Lee, former silent screen star, and Betty Grayson (Mrs. Clifford Odets). Nancy Carroll talks of having her own stock company. . . . A Hebrew version of "The Consul" will be produced in Jerusalem this Summer under Israeli Government auspices, proceeds to go to the building of a national theatre there. . . . Max Baer and Maxie Rosenbloom to combine their talents for a series of movie shorts, in the Laurel and Hardy vein.

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* * *
Blanche Thebom left yesterday for her European debut at the Royal Opera, Stockholm, in "Samson and Delilah." Though of Swedish descent, it will be her first visit to Europe as an artist, and she will be the only American in the cast. . . . Leland Hayward goes to London next month to set a British company of "Mister Roberts." . . . B. P. Schulberg is in town, telling friends he's "looking for a job." . . . Rose Stevens's first recordings under her new RCA contract will be "Religious Songs of All Nations." . . . A soon-to-be released book titled "The Assassins" brings to light some hitherto unpublicized attempts at assassination, one on Charlie Chaplin when he visited Japan in 1932.

* * *
Universal planning an unusual world press premiere for Jimmy Stewart's new film, "Winchester 73." It will be held in the Winchester arms factory at New Haven, Conn., June 1, with a one-day junket planned for movie reviewers from New York, Boston, etc. . . . "Three Sheets to the Wind," which a Yale group is presenting at the Waldorf next Monday evening, will be a benefit for Camp Nyda, Burlingham, N. Y., which specializes in diabetic children. Mrs. Busch Greenough and a group of society women are sponsoring it. . . . The Childs restaurant chain is instituting a new policy—a charm school for waitresses, to teach them proper makeup, etc. . . . Leonard Cramer, vice president of Allen B. DuMont Laboratories, starts a nationwide tour in Boston this week, making speeches in key cities on the future aspects of the television industry. . . . Vicki Cummings, released by the quick demise of "A Phoenix Too Frequent," will be one of a trio in "Three in Love" (Jack C. Bowman in male leads) which MCA will package for Broadway.

May 17, 1950
New York, New York

MEMO:

O. JOHN ROGGE
SECURITY MATTER - C

"The Romanian News", April 30, 1950, published by the Press Service of the Legation of the Romanian People's Republic, 1601 23rd Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., contained the following concerning the appeal launched by the Third Session of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, held in Stockholm between March 15-19, 1950.

"We shall consider the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon as a weapon of intimidation and mass extermination of human beings. We demand the institution of a strict international control to enforce this."

"We shall consider as a war criminal that government which first employs the atomic weapon against any country. We call upon all people of good will throughout the world to sign this appeal".

Signed by, among others:

O. JOHN ROGGE
ROCKWELL KENT
ALBERT KAHN
JOHANNES STEEL

JOHN T. MURPHY, S.A.

cc: 100-26015(ROCKWELL KENT)
100-10017(ALBERT KAHN)
62-6912 (JOHANNES STEEL)

100-95459
JTM/JEM

100-95459-726

F. B. I.
MAY 17 1950
N. Y. C.
ROUTED TO <i>[Signature]</i>

May 17, 1950
New York, New York

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Robeson, Rogge Leave for Peace Parley

Paul Robeson and O John Rogge have left for London to attend a meeting today of leaders of the World Partisans for Peace. The meeting will discuss the world peace campaign and will plan preparations for the Second World Peace Congress to be held in Genoa in October.

Robeson left Monday and Rogge went yesterday.

In addition, world peace leaders will be honored at a mass rally in London, called by the British Peace Committee. Others due to attend include: Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Congress who was recently dismissed from his post as head of the French Atomic Energy Commission; Alexander Fadeyev, noted Soviet author; Pietro Nenni, head of the Italian Socialist Party; Eugene Cotton, president of the Women's International Democratic Federation; Guy de Boissin, president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth; Louis Aragon, world famous French novelist and poet; Gabriel D'Arboussier, general secretary of the African Democratic Movement; Louis Saillant, general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions; and J. D. Bernal, noted British physicist.

Rogge said yesterday on board
(Continued on Page 8)

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